NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

1953 VOLUME XLII, NO. 5

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PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

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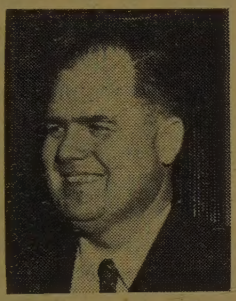
NEWS for League Members

Richmond to Host '53 Conference

The League's 1953 annual National Conference on Government will be held in Richmond, Virginia, the NML Executive Committee has decided. The Conference will take place November 8, 9, 10 and 11 at the Jefferson Hotel.



Mayor E. E. Haddock

The Executive Committee accepted the invitation tendered on behalf of the citizens of his city by Dr. Edward E. Haddock, mayor of Richmond, during the San Antonio Conference last November at which delegates hung a huge banner in the ballroom with the words "Richmond Next Year!" emblazoned on it.

This will be the first time the Con-

(Continued on page 263)

Lots of Sights in Store for Conference-Goers

Those attending this year's National Conference on Government will have an opportunity to see many famous American shrines, including the state capitol designed by Thomas Jefferson. Within easy driving distance of Richmond are Williamsburg with its colonial capitol and Charlottesville with its Monticello, home of Jefferson, and the University of Virginia campus.

The Jefferson Hotel, scene of the Conference, is a picturesque building with the charm and tradition of the Old South. Its block-long lobby is one of the world's largest, containing numerous historical documents and art treasures. The hotel has excellent facilities for conventions and its rooms are comfortable and attractive.

Briefing 75 Richmond civic leaders (most of whom are not shown) on plans for the 1953 Conference is Allen H. Seed, Jr., the League's director of field services. Seated at right are Mayor Edward E. Haddock, foreground, and L. E. Marlowe, former president of the Richmond Citizens Association.

Study of NML Operations Approved

Examination of the League's operations and future opportunities for service to civic action has been begun by direction of the Executive Committee.

Dr. Joseph E. McLean

Dr. Joseph E. McLean, associate professor of politics at Princeton University, author and consultant to civic groups and to federal, state and local agencies, has been retained to make the study.

The executive committee approved a plan, suggested by a group of authorities meeting informally March 6 in Washington during the convention of the American Society for Public Administration, under which a tentative report by Dr. McLean will be discussed at a two- or three-day meeting of a small group of civic leaders, political scientists, authorities on public administration and one or more persons professionally engaged in civic and research work.

A revision of the report is then to be circulated to officers and members of the Council for final discussion and action at the annual meeting of the Council November 9 in connection with the National Conference on Government at Richmond.

Dr. McLean is the author of several books, booklets and articles on government. Among them is a pamphlet entitled *Politics Is What You Make It,* which was awarded a first-place tie by the American Heritage Foundation for the most educational booklet produced during the 1952 national nonpartisan register and vote campaign.

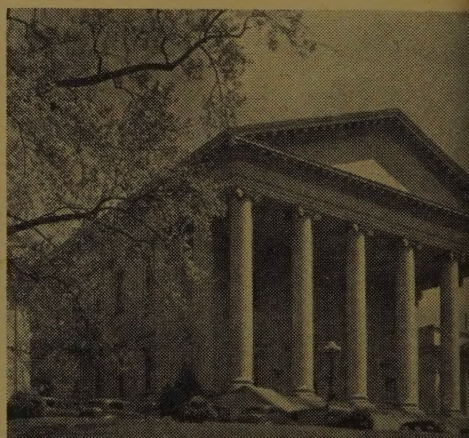
States' Rights Article Widely Distributed

Wide distribution of reprints of Richard L. Neuberger's article, "Toward Winning States' Rights," which appeared in the February REVIEW, has been made by friends of the League during the past two months. The article points up the need for strengthening the states in order to check the flow of power toward Washington.

The article has been distributed to legislators in many states and in Hawaii and Puerto Rico, to delegates to the state constitutional convention in Tennessee, to all members of the Citizens Constitution Committee in Florida, to the Governor's Joint Committee on Reorganization of the State Government in Oklahoma, to newspaper editors and to statewide civic organizations.

One of the earliest reactions to the article was an editorial in *The Des Moines Register.* It said, in part: "If the trend toward centralization of power in Washington is ever to be reversed, the 'states' righters,' north and south, will have to take the lead in helping the states assume their responsibilities."

One of the most impressive sights in historic Richmond, scene of the 1953 National Conference on Government, is the State Capitol, designed by Thomas Jefferson.



National Municipal Review

Volume XLII, No. 5 **Total Number 432**

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. Copyright 1953 by the National Municipal League.

Subscription, $5 per year; Canadian, $5.25; foreign, $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

Editorial Comment

Do Our Schools Fear Freedom?

WE AMERICANS have never been a particularly shy people. We have always been proud of our heritage of liberty and our great material progress, and we haven't been a bit slow about telling ourselves and others how democratic we are. Today our words about the rights of man are starting to sound a little hollow and, while we are trying to sell other parts of the world on the value of democracy, it might be well for us to take a more critical look at ourselves. Do we really believe in human freedom and dignity as much as we say we do? If you think so, then you might be surprised by some of the findings disclosed by the Purdue University Opinion Panel. This organization recently conducted a poll to discover what the high-school-age group thinks of freedom.

Fifty-eight per cent of those polled agreed that police may be justified in giving a man the "third degree" to make him talk. Thirty-three per cent said that persons who refuse to testify against themselves either should be made to talk or severely punished—while another 20 per cent were uncertain. Twenty-five per cent of the teen-agers would prohibit the right of people to assemble peaceably, saying that some groups should not be allowed to hold public meetings. Twenty-six per cent believed the police should be allowed in some cases to search a person or his home without a warrant. Fifteen per cent would deny to a criminal the right to have a lawyer and only 45 per cent believe that newspapers should be allowed to print anything they want except military secrets.

All the rights outlined above are guaranteed Americans by their Bill of Rights. While few teen-agers would favor abolition of the Bill, their answers indicate that they aren't so willing to put it into practice.

The foregoing comprises a small part of the results discovered by the Purdue panel. These results are by no means conclusive for the entire United States, but they indicate that were many of our rights put on a ballot, an alarming number of teen-agers would vote to throw them away.

What's the explanation for this trend in totalitarian thinking among American high school students?

Educational institutions must shoulder part of the blame. In a deeper sense, so should parents and other private citizens. We have permitted political opportunists and hysterical anti-Communists to single out our schools and colleges and question their right to teach freely and without direction from the state. In one small town all books on communism were removed from the local library. One of our great midwestern universities was threatened with investigation because its curriculum included, among many others, courses in Marxian economics.

Another university insisted that its faculty members take loyalty oaths or suffer loss of tenure. When the uni-

versity lost some of its best men because they resented this implied lack of faith in their patriotism, the loyalty oath requirement was abolished by the courts, but not before it had done its damage.

The inevitable outcome of these invasions of educational freedom has been to make many teachers afraid of teaching conflicting theories of government and freedom to their students. An example of the fear of "freedom subjects" that now pervades schools was shown by the Purdue Opinion Panel group. After looking at the questions the university panel wanted to put to their students, several school administrators frankly implied that they were afraid to ask questions dealing with communism and the power of government.

High school students of today are not going to be able to weigh the merits of "isms" if parents and teachers alike fail to explain the values of democratic rights. Respect for human dignity and justice does not come naturally to anyone. It results from repeated teaching and a fundamental belief in the right of educational institutions to teach without direction or pressure from any outside groups. Former Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Hughes once warned, "Our institutions were not devised to bring about uniformity of opinion; if they had been, we might well abandon hope. It is important to remember . . . that 'the essential characteristic of true liberty is that under its shelter many different types of life and character and opinion and belief can develop unmolested'."

The American Bill of Rights was not included in our Constitution as a meaningless gesture. It was written in the belief that a free people who have the right to inquire into any subject will exercise enough judgment to preserve their precious freedoms. Any limitation of this right is an admission that the people cannot be trusted to govern themselves.

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The Forces that Move Men

Government public relations counsellor must know how to tap the latent talents and energies available in the community.

By HAROLD S. BUTTENHEIM*

WHEN public relations counselling earns recognition as a learned profession meriting academic degrees, I wonder if its highest rank may not be dubbed "Doctor of Public Persuasion."

Academic or not, the public relations practitioner has a thoroughly practical job. He is employed—or, if you prefer, his services are retained—not to spend his time delving into the pure science of persuasion but to do some actual persuading in behalf of employer or client.

But, like the doctor of medicine or the lawyer or the architect, the practitioner in the field of public relations may do his clients more harm than good if he lacks adequate preparation for the task he is tackling. He must be a student of the forces that move men and of practical methods of applying those forces for the benefit both of his client and of the public at large. If his personal and professional ethics are high, he will not prostitute his skill to the service of a client contrary to the public welfare. The purveyor of public relations is not a "common carrier" required by law to accept practically all business offered to him.

In the municipal field, the able and ethical public relations officer will not only sell the city government to the citizens but will also actually sell better government to the officials by stressing the need for the maximum of worthwhile services to offer to the citizens. Such efforts will be greatly aided by establishing cooperative contacts with citizens' organizations and with the various departments of government.

I have never been rash enough to aspire to become a public relations counsel. But in my salad days, when I was green in judgment, I was rash enough on one occasion to compile from various sources a list of some of the factors that influence human behavior. This statement I presented in 1920 at an Institute on Community Leadership. Little did I then dream that about a third of a century later I would be talking on a similar theme before a group concerned especially with government public relations. But in thinking about what I would say now, I reread this community leadership talk and decided that parts of it still have enough vitality and timeliness to be worth quoting in briefer form.

In preparing the original paper on "Forces That Move Men," I depended largely, as I explained at the time, on two books by the late Edward Alsworth Ross, the University

*Mr. Buttenheim has been editor of *The American City*, one of the leading national magazines in the field of urban government, city planning and municipal improvements, for the past 41 years. He is an honorary vice president of the National Municipal League, chairman of the municipal planning board of his home town of Madison, New Jersey, and past president of the American Society of Planning Officials. This article is Mr. Buttenheim's address before the National Conference on Government in San Antonio, November 17, 1952.

of Wisconsin's eminent professor of sociology. Dr. Ross gave me permission to steal from these books with the utmost freedom; indeed, he intimated that this was a form of theft of which he heartily approved. So, if any of you have read Ross's monumental *Principles of Sociology* or his earlier work, *Social Control,* and an occasional phrase has a familiar sound, don't try to impeach me for unauthorized plagiarism.

Forces to Enlist

The greatest force, perhaps, that the community leader can enlist is the ambition inherent in every normal human being to be of some use in the world. This sense of duty, or desire to serve his fellowmen, can be made a wonderful power for civic progress. Individuals who seem to lack this service motive will usually be found to be lacking in imagination. Community leadership becomes a high form of art when the leader can lift into view that which to many of his townspeople has been below the horizon. Dr. Ross maintained that the most stupendous enterprise of all time is the campaign against the unsocial self. If he were alive today, I feel sure he would urge local cooperation with such an organization as the American Association for the United Nations in the annual celebration, for example, of United Nations Week as one means of lifting local sights above a restricted horizon.

But underneath the structure of service to one's city, we may very properly set a foundation built of enlightened self-interest. The merchant who serves on a good roads committee of his local chamber of commerce is doing no less a service to the farmers of the county because their coming to town over the improved highway may increase the merchant's sales. Nor is the lawyer lacking either in civic spirit or in enlightened self-interest when he helps carry a bond issue for a new high school building in which his children and those of his neighbors may be prepared for intelligent and useful citizenship.

One of the most powerful of the motives which the community leader should study and use is the desire of mankind for fame or for an immortality of influence. Ingratitude for public service has frequently caused the loss to a city of future gifts of time or money; while the stimulus that a municipality or a civic organization can supply, through public recognition of extraordinary benefits, is incalculable. By bestowing public attention and marks of distinction for notable gifts or services, a city can secure benefits that if paid for in public funds would entail prodigious burdens of taxes. Much can be accomplished for civic progress not only by recognition of deeds done but by inducing the community to admire and aspire to the social type.

Someone said to Napoleon that the ribbons and crosses of his Legion of Honor were mere toys. Napoleon's reply was: "You call these toys? Well, you manage man with toys."

Is it beyond our power to devise means for making the services of peace as stimulating to the imagination and as satisfying to the craving for recognition as are the exploits of war?

The love of mankind for ceremony is too seldom used as a stimulus to

civic progress. In my 1920 paper I quoted a suggestion by Dr. Henry E. Jackson, formerly of the U. S. Bureau of Education, that good citizenship could be stimulated in every community throughout the United States if there were held annually on the Fourth of July or some other public holiday an imposing ceremony of welcoming to citizenship every person in the community who had attained voting age during the preceding twelve months. Such a ceremony might well include also all citizens of foreign birth who had become naturalized during the same period. In "Citizenship Days" and in other ways this idea has spread considerably during the last three decades.

Competition Motive

Another motive that the thoughtful civic leader will not overlook is that of competition. This motive may find its outlet in the clever use of rivalry among groups within the city in working for the city's welfare, and in stimulating the kind of competition among cities which concerns itself not merely with population growth but with those things that make a city really great. Such rivalry uses for civic purposes the tremendous power of ambition and the universal delight in a contest; and it is the very best kind of competition, for it benefits all who take part in it.

The forces that move men include not only such motives as we have enumerated but a host of community standards as well. Public opinion, for example, acts both as a deterrent to unsocial acts and as a stimulus to private morality and public service. Organized citizenship can do much for its city in constantly raising community standards. Indeed, Dr. Ross goes so far as to say that standards are, perhaps, the most important things in society. A growing number of communities have attained standards of housing, of education, of public health or of good government which prevent or reduce greatly the encroachment of undesirable conditions that in other communities are taken as a matter of course. To enlighten a community as to better standards established elsewhere, and to help in abolishing local standards that have become antiquated, are important tasks of community leadership. Good standards which have evolved through local custom may often be maintained and strengthened by legal safeguards.

Closely related to public standards is public morality and the desire for fair play. In a campaign for adequate pay for school teachers, perhaps the strongest appeal that can be made is that of justice to the teacher and a square deal for the children. Such an appeal, if properly made, will overcome unthinking demands for budget-slashing based on too niggardly a standard of public expenditures. It must be recognized, however, that public morality is generally higher within any given group than between groups. There are codes of honor which disappear at the edge of the group. But if we can persuade men to enlarge their group boundaries, we can raise standards appreciably.

Imitation of the actions or inactions of others is another force that moves men—and that sometimes moves them to stand still. The power

(Continued on page 223)

Inevitable Urge to Be Bright

Press philosopher muses on the ways in which political democracy is getting sadly mixed up with pious anarchy.

By WILLIAM A. CALDWELL*

EDITOR'S NOTE.—For the benefit of those who may not be aware that Governor Thomas E. Dewey recently recommended the city manager plan as a way to save the city of New York from its follies, it should be pointed out that ambitious politicians there are in a great dither. Mr. Halley is a candidate for mayor.

TO Rudolph Halley for solace is recommended what the theater-trunk tomcat told mehitabel. As archie, the cockroach, reported it to Don Marquis:

> mehitabel he says
> both our professions
> are being ruined
> by amateurs

So there on the radio was Mr. Halley talking as an expert—as a connoisseur of political corruption and as president of the New York City Council—about New York's astounding acquiescence in government by slobs. One of his interviewers, affecting the childlike simplicity which is supposed to unmask so many fine pretensions, asked him what he proposed should be done to correct this. Halley said institute city manager government. The interviewers really went after him.

Now, no one is any longer under any delusions about city management's being the automatic foolproof cure for what's wrong with American politics. In the last twenty years we have been compelled to settle for these truths: that no form of government is so rotten that good men can't govern well within its framework, that no system can produce good government if it's manned by crooks or schmoes. But it has been demonstrated in scores of cities—now actually a majority of the nation's big cities—that, other factors being equal, the city manager form yields the highest return on the tax dollar. This is not a matter of speculation or opinion. It's a fact. The proofs are available—by the ton.

But here Halley was compelled to sit being plied with parlor-Socrates questions:

"Hm-m-m; yes, the manager himself may be good. . . . But who appoints the manager?"

The municipal government, of course.

"And so he'd be no better than the people elected to run the government?"

You can see the direction this was taking. Pretty soon Halley would be backed into a corner admitting city management can rise no higher than its source; therefore the city manager form is no better than the most abject ape on the municipal council; therefore there's no point in adopting management; therefore we're really better off the way things are.

One of the apparently ineradicable curses of our century was represented in that half-hour interview. To re-

*Mr. Caldwell, assistant editor of the *Bergen Evening Record* of Hackensack, New Jersey, is author of its daily column, "Simeon Stylites." The article above is taken from his column of February 16, 1953.

duce it to the essentials that must thread through your life too, there was a man who knows what he's talking about being subjected to criticism and correction or indeed defeat by a gaggle of well meaning ignoramuses who don't know, as far as city management is concerned, which way a clock goes.

Perhaps this is one of the prices we must consent to pay for democracy. Perhaps it represents a healthy resistance to the authoritarian. We do not think so.

It seems to this reporter that many of us are getting political and economic democracy—the right to take a hand in our government, the right to equality of opportunity in making a living—mixed up with matters in which democracy is not possible. What we're getting is a pious anarchy.

The City Manager

To stick to city management for just a moment longer, it is not a fact that the city manager is just another piece of blubber like a mayor or one of the illiterate jays we keep electing to municipal councils. There's a profession of city management. It has its organization, its standards, its ethics. In a way roughly analogous to the F. B. I., it makes a man prove he's quite a man before it'll even let him ask in. Most managers start life as engineers or statisticians or accountants. They don't get exposed to professional politics until long after their techniques and habits are matured. Normally they are brought into a town strangers, through some competitive elimination process. No matter what politician selects a manager, it goes without saying he's a better man than the politician. That's that.

He knows how to manage things professional politicians barely suspect exist—bonds, refinancing, machinery, short-term paper, pinochle-playing bums in the outlying municipal offices and plants, traffic, welfare, the works. City management always does it better. So we let people ask shrewd questions calculated to make it sound silly.

If you take your car to the garage or your liver to the doctor's office you go prepared to accept a judgment. The garage man says there's a perforation in the fuel-pump diaphragm, and you yield. The doctor says he's going to half-sole your liver. Ah, well, you say. You do not observe that this is authoritarianism. You don't ask him who the hell he thinks he is, because you know.

In certain fields we understand that wholly irrelevant is the fact that—as guaranteed in the constitution and the bill of rights—we're as good a man as he is.

But in certain other fields, these being the most important of all fields, we have yet to yield to this perfectly overwhelming truth.

Where politics and government are concerned we consider ourselves as ripely qualified to entertain an opinion as Winston Churchill or Bernard Baruch or indeed Pat Reilly. Where schools are concerned, you can find in any ginmill or billiard parlor a dozen boobs who haven't had an idea in 25 years but who are equal to and cancel out John Dewey. In the graphic arts, the social sciences, music, child rearing, the theater—in the places where our decision must be

right or we perish—the jackass stands the peer of the saint, the sage, even the merely competent.

This is the revolt against authoritarianism, but it turns out (as do so many revolutions) not to terminate an evil but to supplant it with a worse. It is bad enough to be dominated by an elite, any elite, presiding over anything in human existence. It is infinitely worse to be tyrannized by ignorance, immaturity, archness, the smug peevishness—the girl who can't read a note but knows what she likes and that makes her same as Johann Sebastian Bach. The tomcat was right. We're being ruined by amateurs, mehitabel.

THE FORCES THAT MOVE MEN

(Continued from page 220)

of local customs may conserve standards both good and bad. The community leader must recognize this imitative faculty in mankind and manipulate it for good ends. He must not stir up needless opposition by urging his community to jump ahead too fast, but he must not let local progress be balked at every turn by local ignorance of what is going on in the world. The best ammunition that a local leader can have in urging progress in any direction is definite knowledge of what other communities have done successfully along the same line. The power of precedent can thus be invoked to overcome local prejudices. As Dr. Ross once pointed out, "If we can ultimately do *everywhere* what is now being done with success *somewhere*, the world will be remade."

The 'We' Feeling

Finally, many a useful organization has been injured and many a municipal department has been handicapped by an institutionalism that has robbed it too much of the human factor and has substituted system for personality. System must be the servant rather than the master of the community leader. The "we" feeling must not be crushed out of any group that is to preserve its morale and enlarge its usefulness. Where a genial feeling of comradeship in a good cause is skillfully built up and maintained, there can come to the membership of an organization or to the officials and employees of a municipality the inspiration for so developing their city that the activities of today may have an influence for good on the life of the community for all time to come.

As I see it, therefore, the job of government public relations involves much more than the fixing of responsibility for preparing newspaper releases, radio programs and annual reports; if genuinely interested in serving and bettering his city, state or nation the public relations counsel or officer will always have in mind the basic forces that move men.

Just as there is no limit, seemingly, to civic improvement needs, so there is no limit to latent talents and energies waiting to be tapped for civic improvement undertakings. It is a major job of government public relations—and a challenge it is—to help evolve and work out key approaches to unlocking this store of talent and energy for public purposes.

To that end, may we all become Doctors of Public Persuasion.

Attracting Industry to Cities

Adequate municipal services constitute greatest inducement which local governments can extend as factor for location.

By LAWRENCE DURISCH*

THE industrial employed and those in trades and services are, in the main, residents of cities and towns or of adjacent suburban areas. It is in the towns that most new industrial plants are being built. It is in the urban areas that existing industrial facilities are being expanded.

In our private enterprise system new locations are chosen primarily on the basis of long-run profit considerations. However, no precise or complete formula for determining such considerations exists. Certain basic locational conditions must be satisfied. They may include, for example, the availability of markets, raw materials, labor supply or any one or combination of the needs of a particular industry. But often these basic requirements can be met in several or even many locations. In such instances the final location decision may be made on the basis of secondary factors. It is the existence of these secondary considerations which poses the question: Can local government services influence the location of industry?

Under certain circumstances governmental service can and will determine the choice between or among several locations, all of which meet basic or fundamental requirements of the industry. Some few industries are relatively "foot loose" and can, if they choose, respond to the locational pull of clean, attractive cities. Such industries may actually be community oriented. They, of course, are few in number but desirable additions to the economic life of towns which secure them.

The role of local government in industrial location too often is thought of only in terms of one of the more spectacular and controversial phases of the subject. The desire on the part of local leaders to do something "tangible" has served to center attention on municipal financing of industrial undertakings and to related special considerations or subsidy. This aspect of the locational problem is not at all new—with no difficulty the origin of the practice can be traced to colonial times. During the period of railroad building many communities issued general obligation bonds to render assistance to the companies and to influence the location of rights of way.

Community financing of new industry has received impetus and relatively recent legislative status in such states as Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi and Tennessee. This year, on the other hand, the voters of Arkansas rejected an enabling law to permit first and second class cities to levy a property tax to promote new

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industries. The controversy centering around industrial subsidies in their modern form burns brightly. The practice is currently condemned by the Municipal Finance Officers Association, the Investment Bankers Association of America and many others. The charge of socialism and communism is levied against it, with all the vigor of campaign oratory. The practice is defended by important segments of industry and by many local leaders. The defense is often based on the pragmatic statement "it works."

The point I would emphasize is that such bond issues constitute but one phase or one part of the role of local government in industrial development. They tend to obscure the less glamorous but more basic services local administration provides to industry.

The real role of local government is to help create a total environment in which people can live and work. This may not be as exciting as granting of subsidies, and it presents an infinitely more difficult administrative problem. Between providing a building and a good police department or an adequate city plan, the first is much the easier. But lasting progress lies in the direction of basic services. The most important role that local government can play, the most important contribution it can make to industrial development, is to perform well its regular functions of government. Like many things which we take for granted, it is in danger of being overlooked. We should never lose sight of the very real relationships of sound institutions of local government to business and industry and to society generally.

Recently a group of political scientists, including representatives of the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Tennessee, issued a pamphlet on local government services and industrial development in the southeast. The brief study sought to identify various services of local government which industry considers important. The result was a listing of almost all significant municipal functions: property protection including both fire and police, public schools and facilities for employee training, public health and hospital facilities, housing, local transportation, water and electric utilities, both publicly managed and those which are privately operated and publicly regulated, recreation, and planning and zoning as they affect the availability of industrial sites and the convenience of industrial areas. To these may be added the special inducements and assistance in financing previously mentioned.

Services Affect Locations

It is not difficult to find examples of industrial locations which have been influenced by local governmental services. One town was told rather bluntly by an industry which located elsewhere: "There is nothing wrong with your town as an industrial location that a good city government would not cure." One industry was engaged in a locational survey of a Tennessee city during a session of the state legislature. Representatives of the industry were amazed and dismayed at the flood of local bills, applicable to the city but about which its citizens had no voice, introduced into the legislature. The industry concluded that the affairs of the city

lacked stability, that location there involved risks that a prudent industry should not take. Accordingly, the new plant was established elsewhere, thereby providing another compelling argument for municipal home rule.

Another city injured its chances in a locational competition by the assessment it proposed to levy on the plant if constructed. Surprisingly, the industry considered the assessment too low. This is perhaps not as altruistic on the part of the industry as it may appear. The industry knew the proposed assessment was unreasonably low and thereby gained a poor impression of the method of doing business adopted by the city officials. The industry representatives were wise enough to realize that assessments can be changed, and in their case revision could and surely would be upward—perhaps in a brief time.

No phase of industrial management has received more attention in recent years than the welfare of employees. Plants dependent upon attracting and retaining high type personnel are compelled to consider community factors in making locational decisions. When a new plant is established it is often essential that old employees of the company, those in supervisory or other key positions, move to the new location and settle there. One company was recently dismayed to find that four out of five of its transferred employees resigned in a matter of months after coming to the new location—the reason, they didn't like the schools and other community facilities in the town. The result was a difficult operational period for the company.

Few cities or towns realize completely the value of being known as a good town in which to live and work. The case for community services as a factor which must be taken into account by established businesses and by those who seek new locations is well summarized by Louis B. Lundborg, vice president of the Bank of America:

> There is not a business—not a profession—in any community in America that does not share directly in dollars-and-cents profit or loss from the improvement or the deterioration in (1) the physical condition of the city's physical plant, (2) the quality of service rendered by the city and other governmental agencies, (3) the quality of service rendered by civic and social agencies, and (4) the availability of community resources and facilities to improve the physical, mental and moral health of the populace.

Aids to Industrial Development

It is often asserted that what local government does to aid industrial development is done in the interest of the entire community. The reverse of this reasoning is equally true, whatever local government does for the entire community aids industrial development. The reciprocal benefits of sound economic development and improved community life are well established. Where municipal financing of industrial undertakings is undertaken or other special inducements offered, the standards by which such practices must be judged are the same as for all other services which have a special clientele group —the responsibility of local government runs always to the entire com-

(Continued on page 262)

The Party in Local Affairs

Great Britain's tradition of nonpartisan politics in communities now supplanted by national party control.

By LASHLEY G. HARVEY*

THE British achievement in obtaining responsible parliamentary government through political parties which campaign on programs rather than personalities is the envy of students of government the world over. Many Americans cast longing eyes at British practices and urge reorganization of Congress and political parties, hoping to achieve greater political responsibility.

A battle of pens rages between those who advocate greater central control of political parties in the British manner and those who support traditional decentralization. Although this quarrel is an old one, it flared into open dispute in 1950 when a report of a committee of the American Political Science Association, *Toward a More Responsible Two-party System*,[1] advocated greater control of our political parties at the national level.

There is no attempt in the discussion which follows to enter this controversy, since the disputants are usually concerned with party organization and its responsibility and not with the impact of political parties upon local government and its survival as a democratic institution. It has long been the feeling in the United States that local self-government should be and is to a large degree independent of national party politics. This is a part of our British heritage, but as a tradition it is rooted in the past and claims no relation to present British attitudes toward the role of national parties in local government.

In the present dispute over central versus decentralized control of political parties the proponents of central control have been criticized for drawing upon British experience as a desirable model. They are also challenged on the assumption that Congress will become more responsible as has the British Parliament. The question remains, could a political party with centralized control, faced with present social and economic pressures, refrain from trying to influence local government policy so essential for the implementation of national programs? If one turns for an answer to the British experience since 1945, it would have to be in the negative, for British national parties since that date have striven to control county and borough councils as well as parliament. Nonpartisan local government is giving way to centralized party control perhaps as an accompaniment of administrative centralization.

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[1]Supplement to the *American Political Science Review*, September 1950. For a criticism on this point of view see Murray S. Stedman and Herbert Sonthoff, "Party Responsibility — A Critical Inquiry," *Western Political Quarterly*, September 1951.

In the spring of 1952 the Labor party captured twelve counties, eleven county boroughs, sixteen non-county boroughs, twenty-nine urban districts and four rural districts. In many cases the Labor victories meant only the defeat of independent candidates who were reluctant to fight under national party banners. It was a marked swing away from Conservative control in those councils in which national party labels are recognized.

Actually, Labor won control of only twelve of 62 counties in England and Wales and of 641 seats on municipal councils out of a total of 3,300. These victories have been interpreted as much as a protest vote against Conservative party control of Parliament as local victories for the Labor party. The significant point is the decline of nonpartisan politics and the growing importance of national parties in local elections.

Local Councils

The nineteenth century reform measures which established councils for all local areas, including counties, made them entirely dependent upon voluntary councillor services with compensation for out-of-pocket expenses only. Under such an arrangement laborers had to look to middle-class persons, who were willing to donate their time to council work, as their representatives. The real revolution came with the extension of the franchise by the acts of 1945 and 1948 which gave the masses the vote in local elections for the first time. Age and residence were made the prime qualification.

Lacking sufficient leadership outside the Labor party, the laborer-voter turned to his national party organization for guidance. As a participant in parliamentary elections he received direction from Transport House in London and its local agent in his precinct. It was natural that this association would continue after he was permitted not only to vote for local councillors but also to become a council member.

Until recently all local councils in England and Wales and many in Scotland had these things in common: (1) They were responsible to the local electorate, (2) membership was strictly an avocation and a community service, (3) councils were compendious authorities performing a wide range of functions, separate local authorities for single services being the exception, (4) collectively the council was responsible for both formation of policy and for its execution, and (5) they were authorized to vote the necessary revenues for local services.

The mayor was usually chosen annually from among members of the council. If chosen from outside their number, the only requirement was that of meeting the qualifications of a councillor. His responsibilities were largely ceremonial, except that he presided at meetings of the council.

Since the council's emergence in the nineteenth century, its real work has always been done in committee. Membership on committees was not confined to those elected to the council but included others chosen by a system of "cooption." This has brought to local government many with special qualifications, such as engineers for the public works committee, school teachers for the educa-

tion committee and doctors for the public health committee. Through cooption many who had been defeated at the polls achieved places on the council's committees.

As long as the councils remained in the hands of the more aristocratic elements in the community, local party labels, important at election time, lost their significance around the committee conference table. Committee recommendations for final approval of the whole council represented a synthesis or compromise of personal points of view. The committee system not only developed administrative policy but also provided supervision of departments. This meant, in effect, that every administrative department was headed by a body not unlike a board. Directly beneath the committee was its head administrative officer, appointed by the committee with council approval and subject to removal.[2] With the postwar development of local government civil service, the department head is now more likely to be selected by examination, although he is still supervised by the committee.

Under this system of committees little coordination is achieved except by the finance committee and the so-called party group. Coordination of administration, such as it is, is largely through the efforts of the clerk who, possessing no legal coercive power, must depend upon persuasion. As clerk of all committees he is the only administrator with a comprehensive knowledge of the will of the entire council.

Pattern Modified

Party government has greatly modified the operation of the pattern. The Labor party has set the model and the Conservatives tend to follow it. From its London offices the Labor party issues model standing orders for party government of local councils. Although they are not rigidly observed in detail they are followed in principle. All party members on the council form a "party group," and the "group meeting" of the party in power is the committee on strategy. It is at this point that the national party's local organization influences most emphatically the party in control of the council. The Labor party model standing orders provide for attendance at council group meetings of three party members outside the council. This permits complete integration of the council's party group policy with the national party's objectives.

The party in power chooses the mayor, usually not on a party basis. It also chooses a number of aldermen from the council membership, who have their term extended from three to six years without constituting themselves into a second chamber. Party considerations are uppermost in their selection.

The "group" leader has no official status but acts as the party floor leader at meetings of the council. He may preside at group meetings but is more likely to take part in the discussion. In the final presentation of party measures he has authority over tactics consistent with the group consensus. In large councils he may be

[2]This feature is considered a virtue in Britain, but has proved unworkable in the United States. See W. A. Robson "Labor and Local Government," *London Political Quarterly*, January 1953, page 54.

assisted by a policy committee, but in any council his work is arduous since group meetings are called before every council meeting and he dare not be absent.

Service on local councils in Britain is time-consuming; it is not uncommon for committees and councils to be in session all night. Numerous meetings, both day and night, play havoc with Labor members who often find it necessary to withdraw. Wherever the Labor party has gained control the time devoted to meetings is greatly reduced.

Central Party Direction

Labor members are much more likely to seek and receive direction from central party headquarters but local Conservatives are not without central direction. Both parties also publish elaborate campaign manuals for local elections which supply direction for local policy. They both have research staffs which continually produce studies and briefs to guide local councillors although local parties do not rely solely on "handouts" from the London offices.

Local headquarters usually issue their own manifestoes or platforms and supply campaign guides to party workers. For example, the manual, *The Labor Party Speaker's Notes: Local Elections 1952*, is filled with parliamentary accomplishments in matters traditionally local, such as education, health, welfare and sanitation and emphasizes accomplishments in housing, living costs and general economic improvement. Following the national victory in 1945 Labor leaders stressed the importance of winning local councils in order to carry out the national program. This, of course, is not to say that there are no local issues in local elections and no purely local leaders who do not act as national party agents. Local issues are important, but urban and county councils make fewer strictly local decisions.

In 1936 main highways were removed from county council control to that of the central government. The mileage transferred by the act of 1946 doubled road mileage under national control and included city streets in most of the large cities including London. The National Health Service Act transferred all local hospitals to the Minister of Health. The Transport Act of 1947 authorized the Transport Commission to transfer to regional schemes all municipal tramways and motorbus operations. With the nationalization of power in 1947 and gas in 1948 the larger cities and towns lost control of these utilities. The National Assistance Act of 1948 greatly altered local concern with welfare.

But local government's greatest loss to the central government came with the transference by the Local Government Act of 1948 to the Minister of Inland Revenue the authority for assessment and valuation of property for purposes of taxation. This, coupled with the increasing dependence of local government upon grants-in-aid, has deprived local councils of their basic reason for existence.

Although local government has lost to the central government, it gained new services over which it exercises a great deal if not absolute control. For example, in 1947 local governments were permitted to provide civic restaurants, town and country plan-

ning powers were increased in 1949, and their powers over underprivileged children were increased in 1948. However, these slight gains hardly compensate for the loss of local control over the wide variety of subjects formerly under their authority. Coordination of local with national policy is an important consideration.

National vs. Local Issues

The most obvious objection to party control over local government in Britain is that local elections can be won or lost over national instead of local issues. The defeat of the Conservative party in many of the counties in 1952 was attributed to a rise in transportation fares throughout Britain and to the announcement by the Conservative Government of further economies in the family budget. This was a far cry from the pressing local questions of housing, schools and town development plans discussed by some candidates in the local elections. As party leaders were given radio time by the British Broadcasting Company for campaigning in both county and municipal elections, there was a tendency to overstress national issues and even national programs which had no direct bearing on local government.

Those who favor freedom of decisions by locally elected councils resent direction from central party offices. Public officials in Britain, however, strongly support party control. Party battles fought in the open identify leaders, policies are announced and some coordination is attainable by the political party group in the council. Since British local government has not been streamlined as has its American counterpart by the election of small strictly deliberative councils and strong mayors, or by appointive managers, party organization may be needed for better coordination. In the United States our cities, because of their more simple and direct government, have not felt the need for national party responsibility. It would seem that with Britain's extensive social and nationalization programs central party control is inevitable. Emphasis upon equalization of standard of services throughout Britain could be forced only by strong central authority.

Local government in Britain today is not local self-government in the sense it was before World War II. Were we in the United States to follow the advice of the proponents of central control of political parties, with power to discipline state and local leaders, could we assume that this discipline would be applied only when national policies were involved? Would we not discover that the national political party would want to gain control over city councils and county commissioners and that pressure for national uniformity might place local government in a straitjacket, reducing local decisions to a minimum, as has been the case in Britain since the war?

Advocates of centralized control over political parties in the United States, in their sincere battle for responsible government, make no provision for preservation of local self-government. This omission stands in the way of acceptance by the great mass of American citizens who wish to preserve the right to experiment locally and provide the type of local services demanded by the community.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

N. Y. City Survey Committee Reports

A City Administrator Plan Is Recommended

CULMINATING three years of work by a large number of experts, at a cost of nearly $2,200,000, the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey, in New York City, rendered its final report on March 29 in summary form, followed by more detailed sections issued day by day until April 10.

Without proposing a change in the general governmental setup of mayor, board of estimate, city council and five boroughs, the report urges employment of a general administrator to correlate all administrative activities. Other major recommendations include a new budget system, a semi-autonomous transit authority, a revamped personnel system with payroll economies, and new formulas of state and federal aid.

The 28-member committee was appointed by former Mayor William O'Dwyer and began its task in January 1950. Its chairman has been Lazarus Joseph, the city's comptroller. The technical studies have been directed by Dr. Luther Gulick. The full recommendations are contained in two volumes totaling 1,200 pages, wherein are summarized 62 reports of consultants on various departments and problems.

General Manager Proposed

The mayor would be relieved of detailed administrative duties by his appointment of a director of administration and the creation of a management cabinet consisting of the mayor, deputy mayor, director of administration, director of the budget, corporation counsel and representatives of the city planning and civil service commissions.

The director of administration is likened to a general manager who would coordinate the various departments and maintain "a two-way channel facilitating the flow of information, problems and decisions between the departments and the mayor."

This is the third proposal for some type of manager coming from authoritative sources in the last three months. The first was from the Citizens Union of the City of New York;[1] the second was from Governor Dewey of New York State.[2] The proposals of the Citizens Union and of the survey committee do not conform to the council-manager plan as defined and advocated by the National Municipal League and the International City Managers' Association, inasmuch as the manager would not be appointed by an elected city council, and the mayor, besides appointing the manager, would retain much executive responsibility, along with other members of the board of estimate. Governor Dewey urged establishment by the state legislature of a commission (which has been done) to study the city's governmental structure and draft a manager proposal, which might be a further modification of the standard form.

The management cabinet would hold weekly meetings; the director of administration would prepare the agenda for these and would execute cabinet policy. The deputy mayor would represent the mayor on the board of estimate and would take over a large part of the mayor's ceremonial duties.

[1] See the REVIEW, March 1953, page 134.
[2] See the REVIEW, April 1953, page 179.

Separation of operational from managerial functions is sought, with a considerable degree of autonomy recommended for the various operating departments. There would be one such for each function, although the committee recognizes that this would require 40 to 50 individual departments. It asserts that such a structure can be "managed and coordinated effectively provided the top management acts as a governmental directorate and keeps out of detailed operations." Each department would have a number of new, well paid management positions, including a combined budget officer and comptroller, a personnel officer, a business manager or deputy where necessary, a program aid and a public relations officer.

The committee urged the general adoption of a program budget instead of the prevailing line budget; some progress in this direction is now being made.

In the taxation field several sources of revenue are discussed, without definite recommendation.

A transit authority of three citizens, appointed by the mayor and serving part time, with a manager in charge of operations, is recommended. Fares would be expected to cover operating expenses but not debt service; however, the authority would have discretion to consider "a satisfactory balance between maximum use of the transit facilities and the revenue needed." This recommendation is academic now, inasmuch as the board of estimate has accepted a transit authority prescribed by Governor Dewey[3] in connection with the city's financial needs; this body, which takes office July 1, 1953, includes two members appointed by the mayor and two by the governor, with a fifth to be chosen by the others, or otherwise to be the present chairman of the New York Port Authority.

The position of personnel administrator, appointed by the civil service commission with the approval of the mayor, would be created to relieve the commission of administrative duties other than over-all responsibility. The survey committee also recommends reclassification of city positions, revising of salary schedules and establishment of uniform pension arrangements as against the sixteen existing retirement systems.

Payroll savings of $12,000,000 to $25,000,000 are estimated as possible within a year, and further savings are envisaged, up to 10 per cent of the city's present payroll of $737,000,000. These claims are vigorously disputed in a minority report signed by the present budget director, four other past and present city officials and two other members.

Increase in state and federal aid, to the extent of $64,000,000 per annum, is proposed, especially as regards highways and the education of a flood of recent immigrants from Puerto Rico and elsewhere.

Another proposal is that the city colleges be taken into the state's university system. A suggestion that the city's welfare work be taken over by the state was considered but rejected, unless city-state relationships cannot be adjusted along lines urged by the committee.

[3]See the REVIEW, April 1953, page 191.

Rhode Island Court Curbs Home Rule

An advisory opinion of the Rhode Island Supreme Court threw four cities with new home rule charters into confusion by declaring the provisions for nonpartisan election of their city councils invalid. Basis for the opinion, requested by the legislature, is a provision of the Rhode Island constitution that

the legislature "should have full power to describe the manner of conducting the elections." The court held that this applies to all elections including municipal elections in charter cities despite the broad language of the home rule amendment which expresses the "intention . . . to grant and confirm to the people of every city and town in this state the right of self-government in all local matters."

Commissions in Newport, Pawtucket, Woonsocket and Central Falls all wrote charters providing for nonpartisan election of city councils which were overwhelmingly approved by the people. Thus the court reversed decisive official and popular interpretation of the intent of the home rule amendment which had been approved by an unprecedented popular vote of six to one throughout the state.

The Supreme Court pointed out that the legislature could validate the action of the local citizens and Governor Roberts immediately announced his support for any moves in that direction. Initial legislative reaction to such proposals was cool, as it was also to the proposal for an early call for a constitutional convention to write a new and more specific home rule amendment. Home rule proponents pointed out that while enabling legislation would take care of the immediate emergency, it would still leave the cities and towns at the mercy of a partisan legislature which could force them to go back to the old type of city council.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Elmwood Park (1950 population 18,801) and **Northbrook** (3,358), **Illinois,** adopted the council-manager plan on April 21. The vote in Elmwood Park was 3,426 to 2,800; in Northbrook, 444 to 58. **Homewood** (5,887) adopted the plan on March 28, 1,708 to 785.

Maryville, Missouri, (6,834) adopted the council-manager plan on April 21 by a vote of 852 to 693.

Southern Pines, North Carolina, (4,272) adopted the state's optional council-manager law on April 15 by a vote of 489 to 228. The plan goes into effect May 6.

Provincetown, Massachusetts, (3,745) voted on March 30 to adopt the town manager plan under a state optional law, 541 to 469. Five selectmen to be elected next February will appoint a manager.

The council-manager plan was adopted in **Marceline, Missouri,** (3,172) on April 6, by a vote of 658 to 202. The question had been defeated twice previously, in 1946 and in 1950.

The International City Managers' Association announces the following additions to the list of council-manager municipalities since January 1, not previously mentioned in the REVIEW: Three California cities—**Concord** (6,953), **Los Gatos** (4,907) and **Fairfield** (3,118); **Holidaysburg, Pennsylvania,** (6,483); **Bellevue, Washington,** (6,000); **Oak Hill** and **Spring City** (1,725), **Tennessee;** and **West Vancouver, British Columbia,** (13,990).

Ashland, New Hampshire, has voted to retain the manager plan.

Plymouth, New Hampshire, by the narrow vote of 295 to 284 on March 10, decided against adoption of the manager plan.

Derry, New Hampshire, voted 1,045 to 811 on March 10 to abandon the manager plan.

The town and the village of **Springfield, Vermont,** which have shared a manager, have voted to consolidate.

The village of **Bennington, Vermont,** voted March 17 to retain the manager plan. The town of **Bennington,** which shared a manager with the village, had voted to the contrary.

At the town meeting in **Lexington, Massachusetts,** in March it was voted

to have the moderator appoint a committee of five to study the manager plan.

In **Shrewsbury, Massachusetts,** a committee has drafted a town manager charter for presentation to the legislature.

In **Lunenburg, Massachusetts,** the town manager study committee appointed by the board of selectmen has reported against immediate adoption of the manager plan but suggests the appointment of a committee to study the operation of the plan in several Massachusetts towns which recently adopted it.

Swampscott, Massachusetts, defeated a town manager proposal on March 17 by a vote of 2,622 to 1,222.

Amesbury, Massachusetts, at an election in March rejected the town manager plan for the fourth time.

A campaign was started in **Quincy, Massachusetts,** in March to replace Plan E (council-manager) by Plan A (mayor-council).

The town meeting in **Randolph, Massachusetts,** in March, voted to petition the state legislature to authorize Randolph to employ a town manager.

The chairman of the **Stonington, Connecticut,** Democratic Club has proposed the formation of a nonpartisan group to study the town manager plan.

The **Glens Falls, New York,** Chamber of Commerce is investigating the pros and cons of the manager plan.

The council-manager referendum bill for **Savannah** in the **Georgia** legislature failed to be acted upon before adjournment because of opposition of one member of the legislative delegation from Savannah's county. Action at an adjourned session in November appeared to be a possibility.

The city council of **Orlando, Florida,** has approved a committee proposal to ask the legislature to establish a charter commission.

The city council of **Lake Wales, Florida,** has been considering a council-manager charter.

Princeton, West Virginia, will vote June 2 on a council-manager proposal.

A citizens' committee in **Abbeville, Louisiana,** is working for a new charter and is interested in the manager plan. A charter commission has been appointed by the city council of **Alexandria,** in the same state.

Iron Mountain, Michigan, defeated a council-manager proposal on April 6 by a vote of 1,925 to 605. A separate vote on general charter revision was negative by 1,793 to 666.

Hartford, Wisconsin, defeated a council-manager proposal by a vote of 871 to 620 on April 7.

Meridian, Mississippi, voted 3,581 to 1,416 on March 17 to retain the manager plan which it has had for four years. Active campaigns were conducted for and against the plan.

The **Sikeston, Missouri,** Chamber of Commerce has authorized appointment of a committee to study the manager plan.

In **Williston, North Dakota,** the Central Labor Union is working for establishment of the council-manager plan.

Valentine, Nebraska, will vote on the question of adopting the manager plan, under the state's optional law, on May 12.

Ottawa, Kansas, on March 17 voted against the manager plan 1,700 to 1,015.

In **San Antonio, Texas,** under the council-manager plan since 1951, the entire ticket of the "San Antonians," which made the discharge of City Manager C. A. Harrell its chief campaign issue, was elected to the city council. The group defeated candidates of the Citizens Committee for Council-manager Government. The election was followed within 48 hours by the resignation of Mr. Harrell and a number of department heads.

The manager plan is under consideration in **Grand Prairie, Texas.**

A campaign for the manager plan has been in progress in **El Centro, California.**

In **Calgary, Alberta, Canada,** Alderman E. B. Lyle is urging the manager plan upon the city council.

Toronto Becomes Huge Federated Municipality

The provincial government of Ontario, Canada, has established the Municipality of Greater Toronto, with a population of nearly 1,200,000 and an area of over 240 square miles. It consists of a federation[1] of the city of Toronto (population 678,000) with twelve suburban communities with an aggregate of 513,000 people.

The metropolis is governed by a council of 24 members, made up of the mayor of Toronto, two controllers and nine aldermen of that city, and the mayors or reeves of the twelve suburbs. A chairman is appointed by the provincial government but after 1955 will be elected by the council.

The latter will have control of planning and zoning, housing, parks and recreation, major arterial routes, water supply, sewage, jails, public hospitals, homes for the aged and area-wide assessments. The local councils will look after police and fire protection and will have local taxing powers and other functions not specifically delegated to the metropolis.

A separate Metropolitan Board of Education is set up and local transportation is under a Toronto Transit Commission.

Annexations in Arizona Despite Legislative Setback

Arizona cities which desire an easier annexation procedure were disappointed when the Senate planning and development committee failed to report an alternative annexation bill for consideration by the upper house. Sponsored by members of the Arizona Municipal League, the bill as passed by the House of Representatives provided that a municipal council might call an election on the question of annexation within a given area when presented with a petition signed by at least 20 per cent of the area's real property owners. At the present time the city council can pass an annexation ordinance only after it has been presented with a petition signed by more than 50 per cent of the real property owners of the area to be added to the city.

The bill bottled up in committee was opposed by numerous cattlemen and farmers and by the private water utilities and garbage collection companies serving fringe areas which have a vested interest in the status quo.

The city of Tucson, however, expanded its boundaries for the third time in the course of the current fiscal year when it annexed a 206-acre area with an estimated population of 1,000 persons on March 2. The annexation ordinance, which went into effect in 30 days, increases the total area of the city to slightly more than ten square miles. Its population is now estimated to be over 50,000. The recent annexation was the result of a drive by municipal officials to bring more of the densely populated fringe areas, which have a population estimated at from 125,000 to 160,000, into the city of Tucson.

PAUL KELSO
University of Arizona

Montana Reorganization Measures Adopted

The program for state reorganization in Montana[1] has attained a large

[1]See also the REVIEW, April 1953, page 187.

[1]See the REVIEW, January 1953, page 34.

degree of adoption. As reported by the State Taxpayers Association in the *Montana Taxpayer*:

"As a result of the enactment of more than 40 bills proposed by the 'Little Hoover Commission,' state government in Montana is due to be reorganized and improved on a wider scale than ever before. Topping the list are bills to improve state personnel methods, consolidate state investment functions in one agency, control the use of state-owned cars, streamline accounting and budgeting procedures and bring public welfare expenditures under control. In addition, a number of unneeded agencies have been abolished, provision has been made to reduce the cost of architectural services on public jobs, and citizens directly benefiting from services performed by the state will be compelled to pay fees more nearly commensurate with the cost.

"The fact that the legislature created a permanent 'better government council' is further evidence of the success of the reorganization commission's effort.

"Publication of the commission's 90-page report was followed by the introduction of 51 bills early in the session to effectuate the recommendations. Forty-five of the bills were approved by the assembly and all but one secured the governor's endorsement. One bill was vetoed because of a conflict with existing laws."

State Reorganization Fails in Washington

Although made the subject of a special session in March, key measures of the reorganization program for the state of Washington lost by a hair's breadth. Out of eleven bills in the program nine had died in Senate committees in the regular session; two passed the Senate but did not emerge from the rules committee of the House. At the close of the regular session Governor Arthur B. Langlie immediately called a special session to consider the two bills. One was for establishment of a department of administration under the governor, to centralize financial and various other functions, including budgeting, accounting, pre-audit, purchasing, etc.[1] The other would have set up a unified merit system for state employees.

In the special session the bills passed in the Senate but lost in the House. The merit system bill received a vote of 49 to 46 in the House but passage there required 50 votes.

Election Law Improvements Adopted in New York State

The state of New York inched toward the National Municipal League's recommendations on a *Model Direct Primary Election System* when Governor Thomas E. Dewey signed several bills in April. One moved the date of primary elections from midsummer to September 15. To encourage greater participation another somewhat simplified the absurd committee system within the parties in New York City, reducing the 35,861 Democratic county committeemen to a maximum of 16,164. The Republican county committeemen numbering 12,855 are already below that minimum.

Registration practices were moved nearer to the League's *Model Registration System* by provision for automatic clearance from registration rolls in unincorporated villages and communities under 5,000 population of the name of each voter who had not voted for four years unless he responded to a postal notification and renewed his registration. It was made more convenient for voters to register centrally in New York City by permitting such

[1] See the REVIEW, January 1953, page 34.

registration beginning May 1 instead of June 1 each year until mid-September, a convenience intended for those who find it difficult to register during the annual registration week in October.

Numerous other attempts to improve party organization, primary practices and registration along the League's lines failed of passage, including the Halpern bill which was a local adaptation of the League's *Model Direct Primary Election System.*

R. S. C.

Revision of State Judiciary Urged by Illinois Bar

A complete new judicial article for the constitution of Illinois has been proposed by a joint committee of the Illinois State Bar Association and the Chicago Bar Association. The existing judicial article has not been changed since adoption of the 1870 constitution except in 1904, when Chicago got rid of its obsolete justices of the peace and established its municipal court.

A legislative commission was appointed in 1951 to report to the current session on needed changes in the judicial article and to this legislative commission the joint report of the bar associations has recently been submitted in two pamphlets: (1) the proposed new text with a summary in sixteen pages and (2) a larger pamphlet, called *Explanatory Statement,* of 116 pages.

The proposal follows the program of the American Judicature Society in general and is similar to the judiciary section of the National Municipal League's *Model State Constitution.* It is also lined up with the recent brilliantly successful court reorganization in New Jersey. The proposal provides a single trial court in each circuit into which all present trial courts are combined, averting all arguments as to jurisdiction. This in Chicago disposes of an immense array of special courts. Above this will be an Appellate Division and the Supreme Court.

Administrative jurisdiction over all the courts under direction of the Supreme Court is provided, with rule making and management powers. Judges are to be appointed by the governor for a short term followed by submission to the voters on the question of whether the appointee should be retained for a full term (Missouri Plan). At the expiration of a judge's term, he may report readiness to serve another term subject to another vote as to his continuance. Existing terms are somewhat lengthened. Detail is taken out of the constitution to permit further changes by legislation.

R. S. C.

Commission to Study N. Y. State Court System

Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York on April 11 signed a bill creating a temporary state commission of eleven members, to report to the legislature by next February its recommendations to revise and simplify the state's judiciary and to speed the administration of justice.

A prominent objective will be improvement in the method of selecting judges—a matter of such political delicacy that its inclusion in the bill almost caused its defeat by the legislature. Other problems to be studied include the easing of calendar congestion, simplification of court procedure, reduction in cost of litigation and appeals and uniform jury selection laws.

The commission will consist of two members appointed by the Senate majority leader, two by the speaker of the House and eleven by the governor, who will also name the chairman.

Iowa Legislature Rejects Move Toward Fair Representation

The Iowa House of Representatives, dominated by rural members, has defeated a bill to increase the membership of that body from 108 to 116, giving one additional representative to each of eight large counties. The bill would have been only a step in the direction of the equality of representation which was the objective of another unsuccessful bill, to divide the state into a hundred legislative districts of equal population.

Arizona, Colorado Establish Legislative Councils

The Colorado legislature has voted to set up a legislative council, with a small appropriation, to conduct research for the legislature's benefit. This move has been endorsed by the Colorado Municipal League for several years.

Governor Harold Pyle of Arizona has signed a bill passed by the legislature establishing a twelve-member legislative council, effective July 1. The new council supersedes the special legislative committee on state operations.

Preprimary Convention Law Repealed in Nebraska

After a trial in four primary elections, the pre-primary convention has been abolished in Nebraska. The election law had provided for the endorsement of candidates with the words "Endorsed by the (party) convention" after the candidate's name on the primary election ballot. Nothing prevented other aspirants from filing, but they had the disadvantage of position on the ballot below that of any endorsed candidate, and no evidence of party organization (convention) support.

The law, adopted in 1943, was first effective in the primary elections of 1946. It was intended to "guide" the voters as to party convention preferences, increase party responsibility and cohesion, and perhaps reduce a Nebraska tendency to favor "name" candidates, especially some of the more familiar Scandinavian ones. It was applicable to statewide offices and party positions and congressional district party nominations. As amended in 1949 the law specified that any endorsed candidate must have received at least 35 per cent of the votes of the convention.

In practice the endorsed candidates won with few exceptions. But the first choice of the convention, with top position on the ballot, did not always win.

The experiment had too short a life for any decisive appraisal of the effectiveness of the announced purposes by its supporters. The candidates who were endorsed were usually either incumbents or familiar to most of the voters. Some "name" candidates won nomination without any endorsement. There is evidence that the preprimary convention did not improve party responsibility in Nebraska as was hoped, nor did it measure up to the high expectations of some enthusiasts. Neither is the evidence conclusive that it was altogether a failure.

A. C. Breckenridge
University of Nebraska

N. Y. Committee to Study Permanent Registration

The great effort of the League of Women Voters and the Citizens Union of New York to secure permanent personal registration along the lines of the National Municipal League's Model Registration System failed in the New York legislature, but did result in enlisting the partial support of Governor Dewey, who publicly admitted the superior convenience to the voters of

New York City and certain other areas if annual registration could be abandoned.

He secured creation of a committee to study the election law and to prepare a bill, with adequate safeguards, permitting any community desiring to do so to adopt a system of permanent personal registration.

R.S.C.

Committee to Draft Medico-legal Legislation

At the instance of the Section on Criminal Law of the American Bar Association, the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws has appointed a committee headed by Dean Robert A. Leflar, of the University of Arkansas Law School, to undertake the drafting of a Model Medico-legal Examiners Act.

Arizona Coroner Bill Fails, Two Others Pass

The bill in the Arizona legislature for improvement of coroner services, as proposed by Dr. Condon of Phoenix,[1] died in committee because it required an appropriation and other innovations.

As a consequence of this rejection, two other bills introduced at the request of the State Medical Association were passed, but with amendments which impaired their effectiveness and accomplished minor dubious changes in highly ineffective and inadequate practices.

R.S.C.

[1]See the REVIEW, April 1953, page 183.

Council of State Governments Reports Progress

In reviewing the work of the Council of State Governments in recent years, Frank Bane, its executive director, reports in *State Government*[1] that "1952 has witnessed a fuller realization on the part of the states of their duties and responsibilities in our federal system."

Mr. Bane stresses the increase in state activities, and resultant governmental costs, which has resulted from the rapid expansion and complication of governmental problems during the past decade. State expenditures for health and hospitals rose more rapidly than those for any other function, while the next fastest increase was in the field of education. In third place came expenditures for highways, which have almost tripled since 1940, and there have been other important changes.

The increase in government activity since 1940 has been paralleled by a growth in the council's work—its budget has quadrupled in those years. More than ever today there is a need for the services of the council, "dedicated to promoting strong, self-reliant, competent state government."

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

[1]Chicago, January 1953.

County and Township . . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Court Edict Weakens Philadelphia Merger

Legislature Also Tries Its Hand at Charter-wrecking

A PENNSYLVANIA Supreme Court decision (*Lennox v. Clark*, 372 Pa. 355, 1953) provides a unique spectacle: a provision of a state constitution thrown out of the constitution because it might conflict with a law not yet enacted.

The Pennsylvania constitution lists prothonotaries, registers of wills and court clerks as county officers. The so-called consolidation amendment of 1951 says that county officers in Philadelphia are to become city officers and perform their duties as previously until the legislature otherwise provides.

The Supreme Court went down the line, holding that county officers were under the city's merit system, until it came to the prothonotary and the register of wills, who serves as Orphans' Court clerk. A provision of the original constitution gave the prothonotary and the register of wills, as Orphans' Court clerk, the right to appoint certain assistants. The Supreme Court felt that some later legislation, based on the consolidation amendment, might conflict with this appointive power, but instead of ruling that if such conflict ever arose the law would be invalid, the court held that the consolidation amendment did not apply to the prothonotary and register of wills.

The "assistants" in question have always been supposed to be a small group of top-flight aides, numbering perhaps twenty. The court's decision means that not only these twenty, but all employees of the prothonotary, Orphans' Court and register of wills down to janitors, are constitutionally exempt from merit system control. Otherwise the courts might be "emasculated" by civil service! The same reasoning seems to support exemption from any other kind of legislative control.

Philadelphians struggled for a generation to get their county government out of the constitution so that the legislature could deal with it. They finally got a constitutional amendment which expressed this intent as clearly as words can express it, only to have the Supreme Court bury a substantial part of the county government more deeply in constitutional granite than ever.

Plans to make the register of wills an appointive officer have had to be dropped because the consolidation amendment is held not to apply to him. Plans to merge the offices of sheriff and clerk of quarter sessions into the office of prothonotary have had to be dropped because as "assistants" of the prothonotary all the employees would be constitutionally exempt from civil service and other controls.

The decision has been interpreted as a jealous guarding of judicial prerogative against legislative encroachment, but that explanation is hard to accept when the court willingly, even enthusiastically, held that the sheriff and clerk of quarter sessions were subject to civil service—unless of course they should be merged with the prothonotary.

Satisfying explanations for such a decision elude the writer. Surely there were less drastic ways to avoid a conflict between the constitution and a civil service law which had not yet been passed and probably never would be.

CLARENCE G. SHENTON
The Philadelphia Bulletin

Pennsylvania House Approves Philadelphia Amendments

The Philadelphia "charter-wrecking" bloc scored its first legislative victory when it approved, 189 to 19, without a word of debate, a measure which would arbitrarily force the city council to place on the May 19 primary ballot proposed changes in the city's new charter. The proposal would exempt six former county offices from the provisions of the city-county home rule charter adopted in 1951 and allow their employees to become politically active.

Intergovernmental Cooperation Spreads

Four townships adjoining Alma, Michigan, have created a joint rural-urban fire board with the city and employed a full-time director. The board has purchased fire-fighting apparatus which it will operate and maintain. The city contributed $2,000 and each township $3,000 for the purchase of the equipment. All units will share in operation and maintenance costs.

A system of intercity contracts and sanitation districts has been recommended as a means of solving sanitation problems in San Diego County, California. According to the recommended plan, the city of San Diego would construct and maintain the basic treatment and disposal facilities needed in the metropolitan area, and nearby smaller cities and sanitation districts would contract with San Diego for use of the disposal facilities. In outlying portions of the county, sanitation districts would join together to construct treatment facilities.

In Contra Costa County, California, a citizens' committee on sewage disposal and water pollution appointed by the county board has recommended that a comprehensive survey be made of the 30 existing county sewage disposal agencies with a view to developing a long-range plan for the three watershed areas.

Colorado Municipalities, published by the Colorado Municipal League, reports that a cooperative planning program involving Boulder County, the city of Boulder and Boulder School District No. 3 is now in its third successful year. The agencies involved are the city planning board, county planning board and the school board.

Guilford County and High Point, North Carolina, are considering the erection of a joint city-county building to house county and city law enforcement agencies, a city-county jail and an enlarged courtroom.

In Forsyth and Surry Counties, North Carolina, there has been recent discussion regarding the feasibility of consolidating city and county law enforcement agencies.

Colorado Weighs County Improvements

For the third consecutive session, the Colorado legislature is considering a proposed constitutional amendment to remove some of the rigidities in county government. The proposal would open the way to consolidation of offices, adoption of the manager form of government, four-year terms of office, classification of counties on the basis of population and assessed valuation, and appointment, rather than election, of county school superintendents. Any changes in the form of county government would be effected only through county referenda.

Ohio Considers County Manager Bill

A bill has been introduced in the Ohio state legislature to permit the larger counties to create the position of chief administrative officer. The bill is applicable only to counties with populations in excess of 125,000 per-

sons, of which there are ten at present. Adoption of the plan would be optional with the counties. The chief administrative officer would assist the county commissioners in their administrative functions, perform other duties assigned to him and establish additional positions when authorized by the commissioners.

The board of trustees of the Cleveland Citizens League has gone on record in favor of the bill and its application to Cuyahoga County. Over a year ago that county's board of commissioners appointed a person to carry out some of the functions of such an administrator[1] and, according to *Greater Cleveland*, published by the Citizens League, the general feeling in the county is that the "position has been a success and that the commissioners have been greatly assisted in the performance of their more and more extended functions."

Four-Year County Terms Urged in Texas

The Tax Assessors-Collectors Association of Texas recently went on record in favor of four-year terms of office for all county and precinct officers.

Manager Plan Urged for Pima County, Arizona

In a recent editorial the Tucson, Arizona, *Citizen* urged the manager form of government for Pima County. The proposed manager would have functions somewhat similar to those performed by the Tucson city manager.

City-county Merger Proposed for Miami Area

The Dade County delegation in the Florida legislature has announced its intention of introducing a bill consolidating the county with the city of Miami and four small municipalities in the county. The proposal would place the operation of city offices in the hands of the five county commissioners. In its present form it contains no provision for a referendum. The proposition is opposed by the city commissioners of Miami, the Young Democrats Club of Dade County and the Dade County League of Municipalities.

Also under discussion is a proposal to transfer Miami's municipal port and docks to the county. A law enacted in 1951 authorized the county to provide water supply, sewerage, streets, sidewalks, street lights, fire and police protection, parks, playgrounds or any other service to residents of any unincorporated areas that petitioned for such services and indicated a willingness to pay for them. Assumption of new functions, among other reasons, has caused the tax rate to climb from $6 to $13 per $1,000 assessed valuation in the past five years.

In the light of these developments, the Dade County Research Foundation has emphasized that "the county is saddled with an antiquated, inefficient organization structure which was designed many years ago for a small, rural community." As remedies it urges county home rule, modernized accounting methods and an effective budgetary system.

Will County Secede From Union?

According to an AP dispatch, Socorro County, New Mexico, is considering action to secede from the United States. The movement for a Socorro (translation from Spanish: "help!") Free State originated from a drunken driving case in which the judge commented that the ordinance, without signature or seal, "looks like it has been blowing around the streets."

(Continued on page 262)

[1]See the REVIEW, April 1952, page 205.

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(Continued on page 262)

[1]See the REVIEW, April 1952, page 205.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Program for Marketing Municipal Bonds

Cities Need Adequate Standards of Finance

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is taken from a talk given by JOHN S. LINEN, vice president of the Chase National Bank of New York, at the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, San Antonio, November 19, 1952.

MOST municipalities finance the cost of their major improvements by selling bonds. The prudent buyer should inform himself on many phases of the financial condition of the state or political subdivision which is offering its bonds for sale.

The past 30 years have been a period in which violent changes from boom to depression, to war and to inflation have challenged the ability of municipalities to maintain their financial integrity. The purposes for which municipalities find it necessary to sell bonds have become more numerous, more complex and more expensive; the types of securities that are used have become more varied and complicated; and the ability of municipalities to sell bonds at the most favorable interest rates has come to depend more and more on the quality of local fiscal policies and management and on the wisdom of the laws under which the local government secures its revenues and conducts its fiscal operations.

The most important of the few finantial advantages that municipalities have in these days of inflationary prices is the potentially low cost of borrowed money. Low interest rates due in part to the tax-exempt status of these bonds and the high federal income taxes currently prevailing, offer considerable compensation for the high cost of construction. If a municipality finds it necessary to borrow, some feel it is missing an opportunity to economize on future budgets if it fails to take full advantage of the present favorable market.

That some municipalities are doing this more successfully than others is quite obvious to anyone who watches the day-to-day and week-to-week results of municipal bond sales. One sees some municipalities paying ¼ of 1 per cent, ½ of 1 per cent, even 1 per cent or 2 per cent more than others on bonds that, superficially at least, appear to have the same characteristics. Some of this discrepancy is unavoidable, particularly when it arises from wide differences in the economic resources and stability of the various communities; but much of it may be the result of the state's failure to provide local governments with adequate powers and safeguards or of the local community's failure to provide itself with really competent management.

What are the legal and managerial standards that contribute most effectively to high municipal credit—to a municipality's ability to market its bonds to the best advantage? The suggestions that I have to offer are based on personal observation. Over the years, in my professional capacity, I have participated in the underwriting and distribution of several billion dollars worth of state and municipal bonds. It is from this experience that I have tried to define the standards which have proved the most successful and durable. You may say that this is a hard-boiled banker's point of view, but my belief in good local government as a bulwark of our democratic

system is very genuine and I am confident that these standards for securing high credit are also broadly applicable to the maintenance of good government.

In the first place, a municipality must have the legal power to draw adequately on the economic and financial resources of the community for the support of its budgets and the payment of principal and interest on its debt. It must have a revenue system that is adequate, flexible and equitable. When a municipality incurs general obligation debt, it should have the power to levy property taxes for its payment without legal limitation as to rate or amount. The legal limitation should be on the amount of the debt, not on the taxes nor the ability to pay it. The latter, because it is a qualified promise and obligation to pay, increases needlessly the cost of borrowing.

Variety of Revenues

Although property taxes are an invaluable local asset, dependence on them can be overdone. A municipality should have the power to develop a variety of miscellaneous revenues, and should be entitled to share in some of the state revenues that are derived from its own local resources.

Since property taxes are the basis for payment of debt service, and are also the mainstay of the operating budget, they need to be efficiently and effectively administered. That means that the waste and duplication of overlapping local assessing agencies should be avoided, that assessing should be done professionally and equitably, that the tax collection calendar should synchronize well with the fiscal year, and that the procedure for the enforcement of delinquent tax liens should be simple, inexpensive and consistently effective.

In the second place, the municipalities whose credit has stood up best over the years have been mainly those that have had good financial housekeeping—a comprehensive, workable system of budget making and control; a standard system of accounts; careful audits; a competent finance officer in charge; and prompt, informative annual financial reports that disclose, and engender confidence in, the municipality's fiscal policies, procedures and accomplishments. This public reporting is particularly important from the point of view of credit, because the finest record may remain unknown outside the local community unless the evidence is readily available.

It might be assumed, in the third place, that when a municipality is growing rapidly in population and economic resources, it is ideally situated to command the highest credit. Too often, unfortunately, it does not work out this way. Sometimes it outgrows its small-town government without replacing it; sometimes speculative promoters take over the management; and sometimes the boom enthusiasm leads to unbalanced and excessive construction and financing of improvements. That is why hard-headed bankers and investors are interested in whether a booming city has good, well enforced zoning and building ordinances, effective subdivision control, a competent planning commission with a reasonable amount of authority, a long-range capital program that takes into consideration both priority of need and the limits of fiscal capacity and a well planned debt structure.

In the fourth place, the financial stability of a municipality and the security for its bonds can depend to a considerable extent on the quality of the state's regulatory laws and supervisory activities.

One basic essential is a local bond law of general application under which

all local governments can issue general obligation bonds. It should, of course, be clear, simple and incorporate the most highly approved procedures for the authorization, sale, securing and administering of debt. When there is a multiplicity of local bond laws, some of them containing procedures of substandard character—a condition that still prevails in some states—the resulting legal uncertainties and obscurity tend to detract from the marketability of the bonds. Similar comments might be made regarding the value of an up-to-date local revenue bond law of general application, which permits the municipality to pledge the best possible security for such obligations.

The requirements of standard budget systems and standard systems of accounts for local governments have worked out well in a few states, and illustrations can be cited of where such requirements have materially improved financial stability and credit; but a warning is in order that such systems tend over the years to become perfunctory or obsolete and detrimental to local progress unless they are developed and revised in cooperation with local finance officers and are subject to supervision by an adequately staffed and qualified state agency.

Salesmanship Called For

Finally, all the essentials mentioned may be present—a good local bond law, unlimited taxing power for debt service, efficient tax administration, sound fiscal policies, competent fiscal management, foresighted capital and financial planning, and an enlightened concern by the state for the welfare of its municipalities—but the municipality may still fall short of marketing its bonds as favorably as it should if it fails to recognize that it has a selling job to do that calls for expert salesmanship.

It is not sufficient that the product is good. It needs to be introduced to the widest possible market and to be adequately and attractively presented, in order to develop competition among a number of bidders. This is not usually accomplished by private sales, perfunctory public sales backed by a "firm bid," or poorly advertised sales on short notice. The notice of sale, particularly where smaller municipal units are involved, should be sufficiently in advance of the sale date to allow time for investigation and inquiry, the public reporting referred to will provide educational background, a prospectus describing the resources of the community and including up-to-date financial statistics should go promptly to a well selected mailing list, and personal contacts should be sought with influential people and organizations. Promotional work like this takes time and ability, but you will find it worth the effort.

Recommend Uniform Tax Law for Truckers

A special committee of the Council of State Governments has recommended enactment by the states of a uniform law to assure more equitable payment of highway-user taxes by operators of heavy commercial vehicles in both interstate and intrastate commerce. Titled the *Suggested Interstate Highway Use Tax Law,* it would apply to heavy vehicles with a gross weight of 18,000 pounds (nine tons) or more.

Under the law, each operator of interstate vehicles who wishes would secure an interstate highway use tax permit from each state with a similar law where he intends to operate his vehicles.

The user would be required to secure only one permit in each of these states regardless of how many interstate vehicles he operates. He would

pay a nominal fee for the permit which would be valid indefinitely.

Each interstate vehicle would be registered only once and in only one state. A fee for permanent registration would cover the cost to the registering state of rating the vehicle, providing plates and supplying other states in which the vehicle will operate with basic registration data about it. Registration would be valid indefinitely, without annual renewals.

Special interstate vehicle license plates would be issued by the registering state. It is suggested that states with similar laws may agree on a distinctive design for these plates. No other plates would be required for a vehicle and the plates would be valid indefinitely.

In addition, an identification card, called a vehicle tax card, would be issued for each vehicle. The card would list the states in which the vehicle is authorized to operate. This card would be permanent but could be revised from time to time if the user wished to change the list of states in which the vehicle was to operate.

The user would report periodically to each state in which his vehicles traveled and would pay the tax due less any credit for motor fuel taxes already paid.

Under the suggested act states may exempt traffic that is limited to certain border zones, such as metropolitan areas which overlap state boundaries. Reciprocal agreements of this sort could be authorized in the suggested law.

Another provision of the suggested law would allow a state to issue special permits for occasional trips into another state beyond the border zones.

The mileage tax rate to be established under the suggested law for each special category of interstate vehicles would be computed according to miles of operation. The rate in any given state would be so computed that the tax burden per mile of operation of an interstate vehicle would be substantially the same as the tax burden per mile if the vehicle's entire operation were within that state.

The tax rate would be in lieu of all other highway-user taxes including registration fees, motor fuels taxes, ton-mile or weight-mile taxes.

New York City Budget Tops One and a Half Billion

Continuing the tumultuous activity respecting New York City's finances which has been almost continuous since the state legislature convened in January, the 1953-54 city budget was presented for hearings in mid-April. It contained appropriations totaling $1,528,812,795, an increase of $55,193,183 over 1952-53.

In compliance with an amendment to the state's fiscal program, added late in the legislative session, requiring that the transit operating budget be set up entirely separate under a self-supporting transit authority, the mayor's budget contained no provision for transit (subway and bus system) operations. The mayor stated that, if the present transit arrangement were to be preserved and the ten-cent fare maintained, the general budget woud have to be cut $97,000,000 to absorb transit operating costs. The only new revenue authorized by the state which the mayor utilized in balancing the budget as submitted was an estimated $55,000,000 from an increase in the tax rate limit—which must be approved as a constitutional amendment in November or alternatively authorized as a county levy under legislation which has been attacked by some real estate groups as of doubtful constitutionality.

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Television, Radio, Films Dramatize Democracy

States Urged to Secure Educational TV Channels

THE action of the Federal Communications Commission, setting aside 242 television channels for the use of states, cities and non-profit organizations for educational purposes, has produced activity along a number of fronts. The channels will be held only until June of this year, when those not assigned will be made available for commercial purposes.[1]

Recognizing that television can play a vital part in education, the Council of National Organizations of the Adult Education Association has staged a TV Training Workshop for Community Organization Personnel. Held at the Allan Hancock Foundation, University of Southern California, April 22-May 1, the sessions constituted a pilot workshop whose findings will be developed into a report to serve as a guide to other groups interested in such activity.

The Council of National Organizations held a conference on January 15 to plan the workshop. Its report may be secured from the CNO, the Cooper Union, Fourth Avenue and Seventh Street, New York 3.

The National Citizens Committee for Educational Television, with offices in Washington, D. C., held its first conference on May 4. The meeting was co-sponsored by the Joint Committee on Educational Television, the central organization representing educational groups. The sessions were climaxed by a dinner meeting at which members of the FCC were honor guests. The committee, in its publication *Educational Television News,* reports on activities of states and cities to secure one of the channels.

The Massachusetts Civic League has made educational television a major project for this year. It has set up a special committee to help secure educational channel 2, temporarily assigned to Massachusetts by the Federal Communications Commission, through action by the legislature. The matter has been studied for the past year by the Special Commission on Educational Television, an unpaid group established by the 1952 legislature, which has filed a preliminary report.

State Senator Christopher H. Phillip, chairman of the Massachusetts commission, announced on April 14 that representatives of five private foundations have offered at least $500,000 to Governor Christian A. Herter for equipping a noncommercial television station in Boston.

The New Jersey Commission on Educational Television, reporting to Governor Alfred E. Driscoll on March 12, has recommended that the legislature appropriate $615,000 for educational TV. The Minnesota legislature has been asked to appropriate over $2,000,000 for a network.

In New York State, the report of the Temporary State Commission on the Use of Television for Educational Purposes, has reported against the plan. Whether television "is useful for academic teaching in the classroom remains to be established," the majority said.

Houston, Texas, is the first educational TV station to get on the air—May 4. The station is jointly licensed by the University of Houston and the

[1] See editorial, "A Challenge to the States," the REVIEW, April 1953, page 165.

Harris County Independent School District.

Detroit's educational television station will go into operation in 1953, reports the *New York Times*. The new station is to be noncommercial, operated by a joint committee of the combined educational and cultural institutions and agencies in the Detroit metropolitan area. These include the University of Detroit, Wayne University and the Detroit Board of Education.

Cincinnati hopes to open its station by January 1 of next year. Chicago, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Dayton, Washington, D. C., and numerous other cities are taking steps to secure funds for the purpose.

The New York Times Magazine for March 8, 1953, carries an article by Robert Bendiner titled "If TV Moved into the Classroom—fewer and better teachers could revolutionize education, experts argue, although other costs are formidable."

Television and Education in the United States, by Charles A. Siepmann (131 pages, UNESCO, Paris, 1952, available at the bookstore of the United Nations, New York, $1), gives an excellent coverage of the subject. An article by the same author, "The Case For and Against School TV," appeared in the March 1953 issue of *Courier,* a publication of UNESCO.

Radio and Films

The Citizens Union of the City of New York has conducted a series of weekly radio broadcasts over WNBC on which it has presented possible candidates for the mayoral election this fall. Candidates were questioned as to their views on local problems by Citizens Union officials and newspaper and magazine reporters. Ben Grauer acted as moderator.

Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc., of 202 East 44th Street, New York City, has issued a new series of films on American Democracy.[2] Included are such titles as Presidential Elections (ten minutes), prepared in collaboration with Ralph D. Casey of the University of Minnesota and Robert D. Ochs of the University of South Carolina; Pressure Groups (twenty minutes), in collaboration with the late Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago; and Political Parties (twenty minutes), in collaboration with Peter H. Odegard of the University of California, Berkeley.

Cincinnati has produced a color and sound film, "This Is Our City." Dramatized are the city's traffic problems, duplication of public services in adjoining communities and problems of slum areas. Issued by the Citizens Development Committee and the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the film is being shown to civics classes in public and parochial schools.

Manager Plan Is Discussed and Supported

The Citizens Union of New York City is giving its full support to Governor Dewey's proposal that the council-manager plan be investigated as a means of bringing efficiency to the government of the city. "The recommendation is most timely," says Milton M. Bergerman, the union's chairman. "In our judgment it is the most constructive part of the governor's program for meeting the city's fiscal difficulties."[3]

A luncheon and conference on council-manager problems was held March 26 under the auspices of the City Manager Committee of the Chicago City Club. C. Harold Eash, village manager of Brookfield, Illinois, was the principal

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[2]See "The Story Behind the Films," Democracy Series.

[3]See also the REVIEW, March 1953, page 134; April, page 179.

speaker. His subject was "The City Manager Plan Stimulates New Citizen Interest in Good Government." Following the luncheon the conference discussed the latest developments in the move to amend the state's optional manager act to include Chicago, reasons for the success or defeat of the plan in recent Illinois referenda, proposals for a city manager or other special charter for Chicago, and the possibility of a county manager for Cook County. Legislators, city officials and representatives of business and civic organizations joined in the discussion.

The annual meeting of the Brockton (Massachusetts) League of Women Voters heard Mrs. Leslie Hallock, a director of the Worcester Civic Association, discuss council-manager government at its annual meeting in March. Petitions to place the manager plan on the ballot are being circulated in the city.

Guy C. Larcom, Jr., former executive director of the Cleveland Citizens' League, spoke before the Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League on "Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) Gets Efficient Government with County Manager."

"A Review of San Antonio's Progress under Council-manager Government," a newspaper tabloid of eight pages, has been published by the San Antonio (Texas) Committee for Council-manager Government. Some 80,000 copies have been distributed.

Candidates Supported

Citizen groups in communities where the council-manager plan is in effect are endorsing local candidates. The East Moline Citizens for Good Government unanimously endorsed seven candidates and pledged its support for both primary and general elections.

In San Antonio, the Citizens Committee for Council-manager Government endorsed three councilmanic candidates favorable to the manager plan, who addressed members of the group at a recent candidates' luncheon.

The Better Government party of Corpus Christi, Texas, has pledged itself to work for revision of the city charter to end what one of its candidates termed "government by loophole." W. J. Brace, the party's candidate for city councilman, said he believed that the city's council-manager government can be improved: (1) by electing only men and women of proven ability and integrity to the council and (2) by keeping always in the city manager's office a man whose technical and professional qualifications are matched by complete and unquestioned integrity.

In Dallas, the Citizens Charter Association and the Greater Dallas party supported slates of candidates for the April city council election.

Four-year Terms Sought

The League of Women Voters of Ohio, as well as its local leagues, is concentrating much of its efforts at the current legislative session on securing a four-year term of office for the governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state and other elected state officials. Needed is a constitutional amendment since the present constitution calls for two-year terms. A close second on its agenda is appointment of a commission to study constitutional revision.

Citizen Planners Confer

The Ohio Planning Conference held its annual meeting February 24 and 25 in Columbus. One of the main purposes of the sessions was to have delegates meet their legislators on the spot and get the organization's program understood and adopted. One session was devoted to the legislative program,

another centered around the problems of small and medium-sized cities. The conference is an organization of citizens and public officials "to promote action on problems of community planning, housing, redevelopment and conservation."

The Greater Dallas Planning Council's annual report summarizes the work of committees, outlines 1952 objectives and the extent to which they have been obtained. The year "was the most constructive year in the life" of the council, comments the report.

The Cincinnati Citizens Development Committee, in its *Bulletin* for February 1953, reaffirms its approval of the city's master plan objectives, discussing off-street parking, housing and urban redevelopment and stressing expressways.

Citizens Hoover Committee

The Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, which suspended operations during the 1952 presidential campaign, has resumed its activities. Former President Herbert Hoover, who headed the study of federal administration which bears his name, is serving as honorary chairman.

Get-out-the-vote Awards

One of the awards of the American Heritage Foundation's "get-out-the-vote" contest went to the League of Women Voters of the City of New York "for the most intensive register and vote campaign by a women's organization in cities over 1,000,000 population."

Yonkers, New York, was awarded a first prize for its outstanding get-out-the-vote effort at last November's election by the foundation. Yonkers tied with Bridgeport, Connecticut, for making the most intensive and most effective nonpartisan register-and-vote effort by a city with a population between 150,000 and 175,000.

Canton Loses Good Citizen

The death of Melvin H. Kuhl, civic leader of Canton, Ohio, leaves a gap in the ranks of the Citizens Committee for Good Government, whose organization he sparkplugged. Mr. Kuhl, assistant general manager of the industrial division of the Timken Roller Bearing Company, has long taken part in the affairs of his community. He participated in the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League in 1951 and 1952.

Strictly Personal

The women of San Antonio, Texas, recently paid tribute to Mrs. Manfred Gerhardt at a testimonial luncheon in recognition of her great contribution to the community life of the city. Mrs. Gerhardt, the first woman member of the city council, was on the commission which drafted San Antonio's council-manager charter. She is past president of both the United Council of Church Women and of the Council of Parents and Teachers.

Martha Murphy Lindegren, executive secretary of the Citizens Plan E Association of Worcester, has resigned to go into the free-lance writing field. She will continue to work with the association, however, on some of its publications. Mrs. Lindegren is secretary of the National Association of Civic Secretaries.

Robert J. O'Hare, executive secretary of the Citizens' League of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, has succeeded Sherman Voorhees, executive director of Future Springfield (Massachusetts), who recently resigned, as treasurer of NACS.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Researchers Probe Legislative Problems

Apportionment, Committees, Annual Sessions Examined

FIVE recent studies of legislative reapportionment should be added to those which were reported in this department for November 1952 on page 523. Three of these reflect the great attention that has been given to the subject in Kansas this past winter: *Apportionment in the Kansas House of Representatives,* by C. Stewart Boertman (Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, December 1952, fifteen pages); *Reapportionment of the Kansas House of Representatives* (Kansas Legislative Council, Lawrence, December 1952, 25 pages); and *Legislative Apportionment in Kansas,* by Thomas Page (University of Kansas Bureau of Government Research, Lawrence, 1952, 179 pages). The last of these is a fairly complete historical treatment of the problem of representation in the Kansas legislature.

Kenneth C. Sears, in *Methods of Reapportionment* (University of Chicago Law School, 1952, 89 pages), investigates the question in Congress and in seventeen states. He concludes that certain methods of reapportionment used in Missouri, Arkansas, Colorado, Washington and California have produced constructive although limited results.

In *Legislative Apportionment in Illinois* (Illinois Legislative Council, Springfield, December 1952, 62 pages), the problem in that state is briefly discussed and nine plans for legislative action are proposed for purposes of discussion.

The operations of the West Virginia legislature from 1941 to 1949 are briefly surveyed and criticized by Cecil H. Underwood in *The Legislative Process in West Virginia* (West Virginia University Bureau for Government Research, Morgantown, 1953, 68 pages). Drawing also from his five terms as a member of the House of Delegates, the author concludes that annual sessions should be held, pre-session filing of bills should be allowed, the number and size of committees should be drastically reduced and a legislative council should be organized and staffed with well trained personnel.

Annual legislative sessions are more thoroughly investigated by the Research Department of the Kansas Legislative Council in *Annual Legislative Sessions* (Topeka, January 1953, 50 pages). Although arguments pro and con are meticulously listed, the vast preponderance of logical evidence is on the side of annual sessions.

Legislative Research in Kentucky, the second biennial report of that state's Legislative Research Commission (Frankfort, 1953, 57 pages), describes the interesting array of work performed under the supervision of Director Arthur Y. Lloyd. In addition to other reports and studies in the past two years, the commission has published a *Handbook for New Legislators,* a guide for the general public entitled *Kentucky's General Assembly—A Working Legislature,* a report on *The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* and a between-sessions periodical for legislators, *Legislative Research News.*

Two other legislative research groups have published reports: The Committee on Legislative Research of the General Assembly of Missouri has issued its *Fifth Biennial Report: 1951-1952* (Jefferson City, 1952, 28 pages); the State Legislative Council of Oklahoma, its *Third Biennial Report: 1951-1952* (Oklahoma City, December 1952, 165 pages).

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

Advocates Income Tax

Pay the Piper, by Denzel C. Cline (Michigan State College, Governmental Reseach Bureau, January 1953, 99 pages), is published "to simplify for the layman some of the complexities of his state and local taxes." It is notable for its attractive makeup and for the clarity with which it explains the ins and outs of an intricate and perplexing taxation system. Mr. Cline confesses that "there is no easy way to pay the piper," but he registers his judgment that Michigan should have a personal income tax. "It is the fairest type of tax available and is needed to make the state's tax system more equitable."

Handling Public Investments

The investing of government funds by states and localities is looked at from several angles in the February 1953 issue of *Municipal Finance* (Municipal Finance Officers Association, Chicago). Robert L. Funk writes on "Permissive Legislation Regarding Investment of Governmental Funds," Virgil H. Hurless on "A Large City's Investment Practices," A. R. Johnson on "Investment of Retirement Funds," and Ray L. Lillywhite on "Investment of Public Funds in Wisconsin."

Survey on City Services

Copies of a *Public Opinion Survey Concerning Municipal Services in Kalamazoo* (eighteen pages) are available from the Upjohn Institute for Community Research, Kalamazoo, Michigan. This careful study, conducted in collaboration with the sociology departments of Western Michigan College and Kalamazoo College, used the sample survey technique to gather opinions about water softening services, transit and light services, medical care for low income families, home accident prevention and so on. It is an example of the kind of research that is becoming more common in municipal affairs.

Merriam Fellowship

The University of Chicago has announced that the friends of the late Charles E. Merriam are establishing a fellowship in the university's department of political science in memory of Professor Merriam.

Committee Studies Inflation

The postwar inflationary trend in the American economy has complicated most of the problems faced by municipal governments. It is refreshing to find, then, a local citizens' committee which has taken a long, hard look at this national problem. Since August 1948 a Mayor's Committee on the Cost of Living, appointed by Mayor Frank P. Zeidler of Milwaukee, has been meeting. A mimeographed report of its Subcommittee on Monetary and Fiscal Policy, *Summary of the Inflation Problem* (August 1952, fifteen pages) states: "The inflation of 1950-51 was not caused by government deficit financing, but rather was encouraged by private deficit financing. . . . During fiscal year 1951-52 government deficit financing, as well as private deficit spending, has fanned the inflationary fires. . . . We must therefore have both a sound monetary policy and a responsible congressional fiscal policy in order to avoid further inflation."

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Airports

The St. Louis Airport Becomes of Age. St. Louis 1, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* March 4, 1953. 2 pp.

Budgeting

Control of the Purse Strings: Part II—What Other States Are Doing. Springfield, Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, February 1953. 44 pp.

Cutting It Rather Close, The League Reviews the County's (Allegheny) 1953

Budget. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. L. Newsletter,* February-March 1953. 3 pp.

Performance Budgeting—Los Angeles. By Samuel Leask, Jr. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* February 1953. 4 pp.

The State's Proposed Budget for 1954. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* March 1953. 5 pp.

Child Welfare

Aid to Dependent Children in Wyoming. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, January 1953. 13 pp.

Disability Aid

Permanent and Total Disability Aid. By Margaret Greenfield. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, February 1953. 54 pp. $1.25.

Education

The Problem of Financing St. Louis Public Schools. St. Louis 1, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* March 16, 1953. 2 pp.

Elections and Voting

State and County Elections in 1953. (General information.) Washington, D. C., CIO-PAC Research Department, January 1953. 58 pp.

Federal Government

Executive Reorganization in the National Government. By Edward H. Hobbs. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1953. vii, 104 pp.

Fire

A Survey Report on Atlantic City's Fire Services. Atlantic City (New Jersey), The Tax Survey Commission, December 1952. Variously paged. Tables.

Migration

Intrastate Migration in Michigan: 1935-1940. By Amos H. Hawley. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Bureau of Government, Institute of Public Administration, 1953. 199 pp.

Municipal Administration

Administrative Management in Smaller Municipalities. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* March 1953. 2 pp.

Pensions

Backdoor Meddling with Hartford's Pension Systems. Hartford (Connecticut), Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers' Business,* March 1953. 2 pp.

Report on the Philadelphia Municipal Pension Fund. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1953. ix, 90 pp.

Personnel

What About Residence Requirements? Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* March 23, 1953. 5 pp.

Snow Removal

Salt for Snow and Ice Removal. Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, Inc., *Governmental Briefs,* February 28, 1953. 2 pp.

State Reorganization

State of Washington: First Report of Committee on State Government Organization. Olympia, Committee on State Government Organization, January 1953. 70 pp.

Streets and Highways

Controlled-Access Highways. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, January 1953. 57 pp.

Freeways—Good or Bad for Small Cities, Property Owners, Business? San Francisco 19, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth* (Part Two), February 23, 1953. 32 pp.

Turnpikes Head West. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, *Your Government,* March 15, 1953. 4 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Can We Measure State and Local Taxing Capacity? By James A. Arnold, Jr. New York 16, *The American City,* February 1953. 2 pp.

Comparative Tax Rates. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* February 6, 1953. 1 p.

Income Tax Reduces City Property Tax. Toledo, Municipal League, *Toledo Municipal News,* February 1953. 1 p.

Kentucky Income Payments by Counties 1939, 1947, 1950 and 1951. By Will S. Myers, Jr., John L. Johnson and James W. Martin. Lexington, University of Kentucky, Bureau of Business Research, February 1953. 41 pp.

Long-Range Solution or Long-Range Power to Tax? Analysis of the City's 1953-54 Fiscal Program. New York 17, Citizens' Budget Commission, February 5, 1953. 13 pp.

Michigan's Sales Tax Diversion Amendment. Lansing 4, Citizens Research Council of Michigan, *Council Comments,* February 12, 1953. 4 pp.

1953 Property Tax Trends in Milwaukee County Municipalities. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 3, 1953. 7 pp.

Taxes and Economic Prosperity in Utah: 1929-1952. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* 1953. 4 pp.

Tax Levy Limitations. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, January 1953. 56 pp.

Transit

Zone Fares in Other Cities. Seattle, Municipal League of Seattle and King County, March 1953. 2 pp.

Unemployment Compensation

Maryland Unemployment Compensation: Some Industry Experience. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, March 1953. 11 pp.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 249)

and the vote was approximately 232,000 in favor to 198,000 opposed. The metropolitan electorate of Montevideo opposed the change by 100,317 to 67,672, but was outvoted by the countryside.

New Books Treat of P. R. Principles

Enid Lakeman, research secretary of England's Proportional Representation Society, together with J. D. Lambert, is preparing for publication a book of about 300 pages generally reviewing representation systems and considering particularly the two basic forms of P. R. — the party list system and the single transferable vote (Hare system). The book will contain an up-to-date review of experience with these systems in various countries. From the table of contents it would appear that the discussion of non-proportional systems, although centered on the experience of the United Kingdom, will include some reference to other countries, such as France, the United States, Canada, South Africa and Australia. The title provisionally chosen for the volume is *Voting in Democracies.* Publishers are Faber and Faber of London, who expect to bring the book out this spring.

Readings in Municipal Government and Administration, a new textbook compiled by Charles M. Kneier and Guy Fox (Rinehart and Company, 1953) devotes a chapter to "The Case for Proportional Representation," by Oxie Reichler. Mr. Reichler is editor of *The Herald Statesman* of Yonkers, New York, which was governed by P. R. elections from 1940 to 1950. Another chapter, on the case against P. R., is by Newton D. Baker, secretary of war under President Wilson.

Books in Review

Coroners in North Carolina. A Discussion of Their Problems. By Richard A. Myren. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, 1953. 71 pp. $1.50.

This fine study, prepared for consideration by coroners, legislators and the public, describes with great completeness the history of coroners in North Carolina since the state's first constitution, the legislation and practices since then, and the current condition of the laws, which are highly uncertain and contradictory.

As in other states where coroners are elective in each county, the office falls into the hands of untrained persons, only 23 of the 100 coroners being medically trained and 40 being undertakers. One of the hundred is a trained pathologist. The field of the coroners is ridiculously restricted; in advanced practice 20 per cent of all deaths come to the coroners, but in North Carolina the percentage is irregular and very small. Present deficiencies of the law are:

"1. There is no satisfactory definition of the *jurisdiction* of the coroner.

"2. There is no requirement that anyone *notify* the coroner of deaths occurring within his county which happen under circumstances which would bring them within his jurisdiction.

"3. There is no satisfactory direction as to how the coroner is to *proceed* in those cases in which he is authorized to act.

"4. There is no adequate definition of the *role* of the coroner's *jury*.

"5. There is no adequate provision for giving the coroner the type of *medical assistance* that he needs.

"6. There is no adequate requirement for the keeping and preservation of *records* on the functioning of the coroner's office.

"7. There are no *qualifications* required of occupants of the office of coroner and the need thus created for in-service training has not been met.

"8. There is no adequate provision for the *compensation* of the coroner nor for the *financial support* which the proper functioning of the office requires."

The program for improvement of the service is a tightening up of the law and its clarification and a centralization of the pathological autopsy work in an enlarged bureau of the State Bureau of Investigation, (which already is equipped to do toxicological work for coroners and other law enforcement officials) in cooperation with the Department of Legal Medicine at the Medical School of the University of North Carolina. There are only 27 pathologists in North Carolina and all but one of them are in the western part of the state. Centralization of this service at Raleigh is the only possible technical solution, there being nowhere near enough business within each county to develop expertness of this function within the respective counties.

Two functions of the coroners, whose election is required by the constitution, could be retained by them, according to the recommendations of this pamphlet, (1) to hold prompt inquests as a sort of safety valve to prevent local people from taking the law into their own hands and (2) an additional check on the work of the police in finding cases of foul play.

Complete abolition of the coroner system is viewed as only the last and remotest alternative.

This is somewhat in conflict with a more sweeping and expensive proposal of the State Medical Society, previously reported in these pages,[1] for creation of a new seven-member commission

[1]See the REVIEW, April 1953, page 183.

appointed by the governor in charge of the selection and oversight of a chief medical examiner and district pathologists appointed by him. The latter proposal would leave the elective coroners without enough to do to justify their continuance and looks toward eventual abolition of the office as in Massachusetts, Maryland and Virginia, and as proposed in the National Municipal League's *Model Medico-Legal Investigative System.*

R.S.C.

Public Relations and the Police. By G. Douglas Gourley. Springfield, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas, 1953. 141 pp. $5.75.

Written by a keen observer of and able practitioner in police administration, this book discusses the nature, intensity and causes of public attitudes toward the police. The author, a captain in the Los Angeles Police Department, holds a master's degree in public administration.

Disturbed about the low esteem in which policemen and police departments are held by many, he has made a searching inquiry which clarifies much of the problem. The book reports the findings of attitude surveys in many U. S. cities and in postwar Germany. Included are biological, sociological and occupational facts about the citizens whose opinions were sought.

"There exists a need for selectivity in police public relations," the author says, "so that available time, energy and money will be most effectively applied in informing citizens who most need informing regarding the police activities about which the greatest lack of information exists; and in instructing policemen regarding modes of conduct which bring about the greatest acceptance by the public of police activities."

Perhaps the one weakness of the book is its failure to analyze the policeman's attitude toward the public, with the problems attendant upon his own sociological background.

MASON GOULD

America's Greatest Challenge. By Walter E. Myer and Clay Coss, Washington, D. C., Civic Education Service, 1952. 212 pp. $2.75.

This little volume vigorously follows the old futile line of scolding the people for giving insufficient attention to politics. A series of books on the same line could be written scolding them for inattention to our glorious history, the beauties of English literature, the rules of good health, etc. But preaching does no harm and there are some suggestive questionnaires and references on public problems of use perhaps for class rooms and assemblies on current topics.

The Selection of a City Manager. Suggested Procedure to Aid City Councils in Appointing a Manager. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1953. 28 pp. $1.00.

A review of the ideal procedures and available methods of finding a city manager, including a summary of ten successive steps which a council should take for orderly completion of the task. The first edition of 1930 and the second of 1937 are now elaborated in the light of further experience.

An Approach to Urban Planning. Edited by Gerald Breese and Dorothy E. Whiteman. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953. x, 147 pp. $2.00.

A collection of statements about the urban planning process and certain of its major components. Authors of five of the chapters are well known specialists in planning and related fields. There is an excellent bibliography, prepared by the Bureau of Urban Research of Princeton University.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Accounting

IBM Accounting—Local Government. New York, International Business Machines Corporation, 1952. 47 pp.

Air Pollution

Air Pollution Abatement Manual. Chapter 8, **The Meteorology of Air Pollution.** Washington 5, D. C., Manufacturing Chemists' Association, 1953. 40 pp. 75 cents.

Airports

The Need for an Expanded National Airport Program. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1953. 15 pp. Illus.

Assessments

Assessments at Present Day Market Values. A description of the procedures and methods used by Fort Worth, Texas, to determine property assessed valuations. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1953. 4 pp. 50 cents.

Budgets

Budgeting and Financial Management of the City of New York. By A. E. Buck. New York, Mayor's Committee on Management Survey of the City of New York, 1951. 90 pp.

Debt

The Municipal Debt—A Description, Analysis and Appraisal of Debt Policy and Administration of the City of New York. By Frederick L. Bird. New York, Mayor's Committee on Management Survey of the City of New York, 1951. 148 pp.

Decentralization

Measuring the 'Pull' to the Central Business District and to the Suburbs. Travel to Commercial Centers of the Washington, D. C., Metropolitan Area. By Gordon B. Sharpe. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* February 1953. 5 pp.

Federal Government

Organization of Federal Executive Departments and Agencies. Report of the Committee on Government Operations (including chart). Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1953.

Inflation

Guides to the Discussion of Problems of Inflation. By Robert A. Luke. Washington 25, D. C., Office of Price Stabilization, Office of Public Information, 1952. 32 pp. 20 cents.

The People Versus Inflation. By George Katona and Albert Lauterback. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1952. 14 pp.

International Assistance

International Technical Assistance. By Walter R. Sharp. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1952. 146 pp. $2.50.

Labor-management Relations

Lectures on the Law and Labor-management Relations. (Delivered at the Summer Institute on International and Comparative Law, University of Michigan Law School, June 26-July 1, 1950.) Foreword by Russell A. Smith. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Law School, 1951. xviii, 502 pp. $6.

Legislation

Current Trends in State Legislation 1952. Studies of Recent State Legislation. Prepared by the Legislative Research Center, University of Michigan Law School. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Law School, 1952. xvii, 580 pp. $7.50.

Libraries

Contemporary Library Planning. A Report of the Fourth Institute on Public Library Management July 28-30, 1952. Madison 6, University of

Wisconsin Extension Division, Bureau of Government, December 1952. 83 pp.

Mental Health

Mental Health in the United States. Edited by Robert H. Dysinger. Philadelphia, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, March 1953. 174 pp.

Municipal Government

National Municipal Policy 1953. Chicago 37, The American Municipal Association, 1953. 19 pp. $1.00.

State Municipal Leagues in 1953. By Charlotte McCarron. Chicago 37, The American Municipal Association, 1953. 4 pp.

Parking

Parking Meters—Their Number, Revenue and Use. A Summary Report of a Joint Study by the American Municipal Association, the Highway Research Board and the Bureau of Public Roads. By David R. Levin. Washington, D. C., American Municipal Association, 1953. 34 pp. $2.

Police

The New York Police Survey. Prepared for the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey (New York City). New York, Institute of Public Administration, 1952. 70 pp.

Political Parties

The Party in Power and the Role of the Opposition. A Conference Honoring the Memory of Robert Porter Patterson. New York 18, Freedom House, 1953. 30 pp. 15 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

Population

Estimates of the Population of States: July 1, 1950 to 1952. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1953. 4 pp.

Salaries

Personal Wage and Hour Comparative Data of City Employees. (For selected cities of Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia.) Morgantown, West Virginia, The City Government, 1953. Table.

Salary and Wage Data Michigan Cities and Villages over 4,000 Population. Hours of Work, Overtime Pay Practices and Holiday Pay Practices 1953. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1953. 113 pp. $3.50.

Social Security

Social Security Financing. By Ida C. Merriam. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Social Security Administration, Division of Research and Statistics, 1952. 204 pp.

State Government

The Book of the States. Supplement 1, January 1953. (Lists the names of elective administrative officials, elective supreme court justices, and the members of the legislature for 1953.) Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1953. 79 pp.

State of Maine Administrative Agencies. Structure and Functions. Augusta (Maine), Citizens' State Government Committee, 1952. Variously paged.

State-local Relations

Canadian Government. Distribution of Functions and Revenue Sources Between Province and Municipalities in Ontario. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1953. 7 pp. 50 cents.

State Office Buildings

Report of the State Office Building Commission to the Governor of Kansas and to the 1953 Kansas State Legislature. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, December 1952. 25 pp. Charts.

Taxation and Finance

The Financial Problem of the City of New York. (General Summary Volume of the Finance Project.) By Robert M. Haig and Carl S. Shoup. New York, Mayor's Committee on

Management Survey of the City of New York, 1952. 555 pp.

Lectures on Taxation of Business Enterprise. (Delivered at the Summer Institute of International and Comparative Law, University of Michigan Law School, June 25-June 28, 1951.) Foreword by Paul G. Kauper. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Law School, 1952. xxv, 532 pp. $6.

Municipal Income Taxation in the United States. By Leon Jay Quinto. New York, Mayor's Committee on Management Survey of the City of New York, 1952. 116 pp.

Revenue and Expenditures of Selected States in 1952. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1953. 17 pp.

Your Money and Mine. State Finances 1951-1952. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, December 1952. 61 pp. Charts.

Traffic Safety

A Choice of Guides. By Thomas H. MacDonald. (Address on current critical highway situation.) Washington 6, D. C., Automotive Safety Foundation, 1953. 23 pp.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for May: **Vehicle Maintenance.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1953. Variously paged.

What You Can Do about Highways, Parking, Traffic Safety and How to Do it. (Kit) Washington 6, D. C., Inter-Industry Highway Safety Committee, 1953. Variously paged.

Transit Fares

The Revision of the Rapid Transit Fare Structure of the City of New York. By William S. Vickrey. New York, Mayor's Committee on Management Survey of the City of New York, 1952. 156 pp.

ATTRACTING INDUSTRY TO CITIES

(Continued from page 226)

munity, not alone to the specific recipients of a particular service. There is no special role of local government in economic development that is above and beyond responsibility to the whole community. That does not mean that the special needs of industry should not be adequately met. On the contrary, it means that all the services of government, including those to industry, are justified on the basis of community interest.

Adequate services of local government do not in themselves insure initial or continuing success in industrial development. They do constitute the most lasting inducement which local government can extend to industry. Community services do on occasion provide a locational factor of importance. That such services be rendered economically and efficiently, with imagination and understanding, is always in the immediate and long-range interest of sound local government and sound industrial development.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

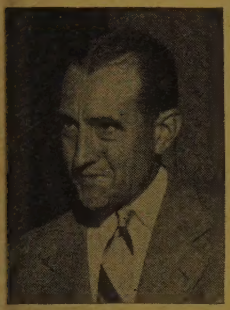
(Continued from page 243)

Subsequent search for other records revealed that the area embracing the county had never been ceded by Mexico to the Republic of Texas nor later to Arizona or New Mexico.

The secessionists visualize no income tax, no draft, legalized gambling, liquor at $2.50 a gallon and cigarettes at five cents a pack, but the district attorney has commented sourly, "Those Yankees will find something wrong with it."

Field Service Director Returns from Tour

Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services for the League, has returned from an extended tour in which he covered 85,000 miles and visited every state and more than 75 major U.S. cities over the past 30 months, advising civic groups grappling with local governmental problems.



Allen H. Seed, Jr.

"I was impressed by the growing awareness by citizens of their responsibility for participating in government," Mr. Seed reported. "They seem to realize that they must do more than believe in good government — they must do something about achieving it." He observed that many new citizens' groups are being formed and that membership in existing organizations is growing steadily.

The metropolitan area problem, or "suburbanitis," was commanding a great deal of attention in most of the cities Mr. Seed visited. He also observed growing interest in modernizing county government.

Richmond Host

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ference will have been held in Richmond since 1911, when it also was convened at the Jefferson Hotel.

More than 200 speakers are expected to lead the more than 25 sessions on local, county and state problems during the three-day event. Public officials, political scientists, leaders of civic organizations and business and professional men and women from many states, as well as from several foreign countries, are expected to attend.

L. E. Marlowe of Richmond, general chairman of arrangements, predicts an attendance of more than 1,000. A member of the League's Council, he and Ed. P. Phillips, NML regional vice president, played leading roles in the fight to reform the government of their city a few years ago. With Mayor Haddock, R. Westwood Winfree, president of the Richmond Citizens' Association, and Edmond H. Brill, Jr., of the Richmond Chamber of Commerce, they met March 27 to set the pre-convention machinery in motion. Allen H. Seed, Jr., the League's director of field services, was on hand to guide them in their early planning. He also addressed 75 leaders of various civic organizations, briefing them on plans for the Conference.

In inviting the participation of all local civic groups, Mayor Haddock wrote: "This is really good news for those of us who are interested in good government. The Conference will be an inspiring experience in the civic life of our community."

Won Award in 1950

Richmond attracted nation-wide attention beginning in 1947 with a civic revival which resulted three years later in an All-America Cities award. For many years, only about 3 per cent of the adult population of Richmond had bothered to vote in municipal elections.

The Richmond Citizens Association was formed and led a drive for a charter commission which the voters approved by four to one. The council-manager plan was adopted by 21,567 to 8,060, a total of almost 30,000 votes compared with the usual 3,000, an increase of 907 per cent.

League Active on Radio, Television

The League's staff has been active in recent weeks in the public information field via radio and television.

A 30-minute recording describing the League's All-America Cities awards was

Alfred Willoughby

George H. Gallup

made by Armed Forces Radio, a U.S. Defense Department unit, for American troops overseas. The program can also be picked up via shortwave by about 90,000,000 people in the U.S. and overseas. Participating in the program were George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, who was foreman of the jury which heard the cases presented by the competing cities; Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee; and Alfred Willoughby, executive director, and Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services, of the League.

"The Voice of America," official organ of the U. S. Department of State, visited the League's offices and recorded a fifteen-minute interview with Mr. Willoughby and Mr. Seed. Purpose of the program was to present to foreign listeners an example of "how and why we enjoy the free functioning of our democratic processes." Recalling the origin of the League, the staff members described some of its many services to help citizens be more effective in their communities.

Following Governor Dewey's recent proposal that New York City consider a city manager form of government, Mr. Childs appeared on George Hamilton Combs' "Spotlight New York" program over WABC, New York, to discuss the feasibility of such a plan. With Mr. Childs on the program were Wallace Sayre, head of the Department of Political Science at the College of the City of New York, and Robert P. Aex, city manager of Newburgh, New York, one of the All-America Cities of 1952.

On "First Edition," a daily televised newscast over WABC-TV, Mr. Willoughby, in a short interview with Taylor Grant, cleared up some popular misconceptions about council-manager government and told of the success which many cities have had with the plan.

Variety of Inquiries Keeps League Busy

To illustrate the variety of inquiries which flow into the League office, here are just a few of the many hundreds received during the past few weeks: Individuals, civic groups and newspapers in a large number of cities asked for material about how to get or preserve council-manager government; a public official in Massachusetts wanted advice on solving traffic and parking problems; a new citizens' league in Arizona sought advice on how to get organized; a civic leader in Michigan asked how many municipalities are using television as a public relations tool; a union official in Minnesota studying financial conditions in his city wanted data on trends in assessed valuation in U.S. cities.